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WAGES AND LABOUR CONDITIONS IN CAWNPORE

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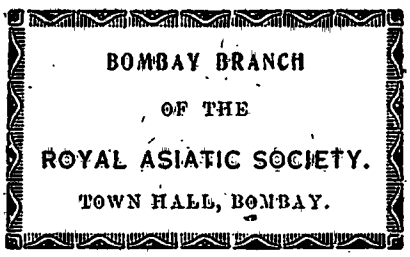

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Bureau of Statistics and Economic Research
United Provinces

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BY

SHITLA PRASAD SAXENA, M.A., B.Com.

Lecturer in Economics, Lucknow University

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ALLAHABAD:

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CHAPTER I

COST OF LIVING INDEX

Scope and Method of Compilation

The general cost of living of the mill-hand comprises his expenditure under various heads and different articles of consumption. Standards of consumption and nature of articles differ with region, religion, caste and income. Fluctuations in prices differ with the nature, quality and variety of articles, and it is hardly possible to ascertain, at a glance, the general rise or fall in prices. A change in the general level of prices does not necessarily mean, and in practice never does mean, that all prices change at the same rate; and even when the general level remains unchanged, some commodities move up and some move down. In order to obtain a measure of the general movement of prices of those commodities which enter into the cost of living of the workers the method of index numbers is adopted. A series of commodities are selected and their prices for the base period are taken and equated to 100. Variations in prices in subsequent years are expressed in the form of indices which show the per cent. rise or fall in prices. In the present inquiry the quinquennium immediately preceding the Great War has been taken as the base period. This period was fairly normal from the point of view of price fluctuations and the five years' average will mitigate the effect of abnormalities in any year during this period, if any. The inquiry covers a period of two decades, i.e., from 1914 to 1934. This period covers the years of economic boom, economic depression and the period of transition between the two. From 1914 to 1921 was the war boom period; from 1929 to 1934 was the period of depression and the years 1922 to 1928 mark the transition period which shows a gradual disappearance of the war boom and the in-coming of the world economic depression.

A change in the cost of living may be due to (1) a change in the purchasing power of money, (2) a change in the commodities consumed, and (3) to both the above two factors. A cost of living index deals with the variations caused by prices alone. In other words, it measures the change in the purchasing power of money. The particular commodities and the quantity of those commodities consumed have been assumed to be the same in the subsequent years as in the base period. A change in the commodities consumed may be due to a change in tastes and fashion or it may be due to a rising price level which makes the use of certain articles prohibitive for the poorer classes.

For the present inquiry, only the variations in the purchasing power of money have been taken into account and it has been assumed that the articles consumed remain the same and they maintain the old propor-

tions. Articles selected for calculating the index numbers are those that are generally used by the labourers. At Cawnpore out of 729 family budgets collected by a process of random sampling there were 80·2 per cent. Hindus, 18·2 per cent. Mohammadans and 1·6 per cent. Christians. But for minor differences due to customs and habits, budgets of the workers in the same economic grade from all the communities were more or less of the same type and showed the same peculiarities. In the same way, among the Hindus differences in the diet of the workers belonging to different sub-castes of the Hindus were at times noticeable but in the present inquiry, to avoid minute classification and sub-classification, such differences have been ignored.

Disparity in the budgets of the workers has been studied purely on the basis of income grades and an attempt has been made to give due weight to the various economic grades among the industrial workers in the city.

Most of the Hindu workers were living on vegetarian diet and hence a vegetarian diet has been taken to be the basis for inquiry. Due to the absence of any published price statistics for some articles like meat, fish, sweetmeats, milk, vegetables, fruit and the like, it was not possible to calculate the variations in the price indices of these commodities and in this inquiry these articles have been left out from the budget of a labourer.

Food has been subdivided into three distinct heads—cereals, pulses and articles of food other than cereals and pulses As far as available, retail prices have been collected because the workers rarely make wholesale purchases. In the case of articles of food other than cereals and pulses such as butter, sugar, salt, mustard oil, spices, etc. wholesale prices have been taken into account because retail prices for these commodities are not quoted in any reliable publication. Moreover, in an inquiry where the movement of prices for various articles is reckoned in terms of indices retail or wholesale prices are not likely to make much difference provided that for a commodity the same prices, retail or wholesale, are taken for the whole period.

Collection of Price Statistics

Information as to the predominant retail price in various years of cereals, pulses and some of the articles of food other than cereals and pulses, as far as available, has been collected from the Government gazettes published every week. Other prices have been taken from the declared value of exports and imports of India as published annually in the "Sea Borne Trade of British India," and "Indian Trade Journal" issued by the Director of Commercial Intelligence, Calcutta. Price variations in cloth have been gathered from prices quoted in the "Review of the Trade of India" and the "Sea Borne Trade of British India." Reliable records of house rent in the city are not available. On the other hand workers are not in a position to narrate the changes in house rent during the whole period of the inquiry. Most of them change

their residences with a change in the place where they work. There is hardly any case where the labourer has been occupying the same house for a period of twenty years. In many cases, a rise in rent is preceded by an increase in accommodation or the comforts in the house. This increase, therefore, is not a pure rise in rent but it includes a compensation for the additional facilities. In many cases, an addition for water charge in the house rent is taken to be a rise in rent. Figures for rent have been collected from private *bustis* (*hatas*) and the quarters in settlements provided by the factories.

Charges paid for the various services like the sweeping of the latrines, shaving charges, washing charges, medical fees, education expenses, conveyance charges, railway fares and the like do affect the budget of the worker but a study of the variations under these heads is not possible due to the absence of data, and these items had to be ignored.

The following tables show the movement of prices and indices of cereals and pulses and articles of food other than cereals and pulses consumed by the workers at Cawnpore.

TABLE I

Retail prices current of cereals and pulses per maund in rupees

Year	Common rice	Wheat	Gram	Arhar dal
1909	4·7	4.4	3·0	3·6
1910	4·4	3·6	2·3	3·0
1911	4·4	3·2	2·0	2·6
1912	4·5	3·4	2·2	3·1
1913	5·1	3·8	2·7	3·9
Average ..	*4·6*	*3·7*	*2·4*	*3·2*
1914	5·2	4·5	3·9	5·3
1915	5·5	5·1	3·5	5·5
1916	5·9	4·3	3·0	4·7
1917	5·5	4·5	3·0	3·8
1918	6·3	5·7	3·9	4·7
1919	8·0	7·2	6·8	9·8
1920	9·5	6·5	5·3	9·3
1921	8·3	7·5	6·1	8·4
1922	7·7	7·3	5·3	6·3
1923	6·6	5·1	2·9	5·0
1924	6·9	5·1	2·2	5·0
1925	7·4	6·3	4·0	5·4
1926	7·8	6·3	4·4	6·8
1927	7·8	5·5	4·5	7·8
1928	7·9	5·6	4·5	7·5
1929	8·2	5·7	5·6	7·8
1930	6·4	3·7	3·9	6·1
1931	4·5	2·7	2·3	4·5
1932	4·7	3·4	2·3	4·5
1933	4·5	3·3	2·5	4·0
1934	4·0	2·9	2·3	3·9
1935	4·6	3·1	2·4	5·0

TABLE II

Index numbers of retail prices for cereals and pulses

Year	Common rice	Wheat	Gram	Arhar dal
Average 1909–13 ..	100	100	100	100
1914	113	122	163	166
1915	120	138	146	172
1916	128	116	125	147
1917	120	122	125	119
1918	137	154	163	147
1919	174	195	283	306
1920	207	176	221	291
1921	180	203	254	263
1922	167	197	221	197
1923	143	138	121	156
1924	150	138	92	156
1925	161	170	167	169
1926	170	170	184	213
1927	170	149	188	244
1928	172	151	188	234
1929	178	154	233	244
1930	139	100	163	191
1931	98	73	96	141
1932	102	92	96	141
1933	98	89	104	125
1934	87	78	96	12[illegible]
1935	100	84	100	156

TABLE III

Prices current of articles of food other than cereals and pulses in rupees

Year	Mustard and rape-seed per md.	Ghee per cwt.	Raw sugar per md.	Refined sugar per ton	Salt per md.	Spices				
						Pepper per cwt.	Chillies per cwt.	Ginger per cwt.	Other spices per cwt.	Simple average of all spices
1909 ..	4·65		5·5		1·0					
1910 ..	4·32	49·3	6·2	146	1·0	26·9	17·9	28·0	68·3	35·3
1911 ..	4·95		5·8		1·0					
1912 ..	5·39		5·3		1·0					
1913 ..	5·87	65·0	4·4	156	1·0	35·8	15·7	25·8	81·8	39·6
Average ..	*5·04*	*57·1*	*5·5*	*151*	*1·0*	*31·3*	*16·8*	*27·0*	*75·0*	*37·5*
1914 ..	5·91	68·3	5·3	140·4	1·0	34·7	13·4	22·4	97·4	42·0
1915 ..	4·69	65·9	6·7	161·7	1·8	32·6	18·2	19·5	104·8	43·3
1916 ..	4·48	65·1	6·2	221·6	2·4	34·0	19·8	19·1	104·2	44·3
1917 ..	4·83	68·8	6·4	199·2	2·7	49·5	20·1	22·9	78·4	42·7
1918 ..	6·31	76·9	5·3	316·3	3·3	52·3	20·9	26·7	98·9	49·7
1919 ..	11·56	90·2	8·3	402·5	2·7	53·5	34·3	28·7	92·7	52·3
1920 ..	9·50	112·6	10·6	327·7	3·1	53·6	34·7	31·4	121·8	60·4
1921 ..	8·64	95·0	12·5	434·0	2·9	42·7	22·2	28·4	104·7	49·5
1922 ..	8·6	95·9	9·8	414·5	3·0	29·3	28·1	26·5	86·5	42·6
1923 ..	7·6	107·5	6·7	262·3	3·6	30·6	30·6	34·2	108·0	50·7
1924 ..	8·7	106·4	7·0	242·6	3·0	30·8	23·2	45·2	177·5	69·9
1925 ..	9·3	103·3	8·6	250·0	2·6	34·1	27·2	55·3	199·2	78·9
1926 ..	9·7	97·9	8·9	273·3	2·5	72·3	26·3	53·0	225·6	94·3
1927 ..	9·95	101·2	6·1	289·0	2·5	61·7	29·1	39·5	214·1	86·1
1928 ..	10·02	98·1	6·5	260·3	2·5	78·3	23·9	37·0	175·6	78·7
1929 ..	9·62	97·3	8·0	274·0	2·5	92·0	20·9	40·0	178·8	82·9
1930 ..	8·86	97·6	6·8	368·0	2·6	87·3	26·9	40·0	191·3	86·4
1931 ..	..	133·0	4·9	251·0	2·5	51·7	20·0	32·0	129·6	58·3
1932 ..	4·86	82·5	4·3	192·0	2·5	39·8	14·3	23·4	151·8	57·3
1933 ..	3·91	72·3	3·0	248·0	1·5	37·9	12·8	20·2	135·9	51·7
1934 ..	4·16	55·5	4·3	251·3	2·7	30·9	14·9	19·2	142·9	42·0
1935 ..	6·17	64·5	5·3	245·0	2·7	..	..	..	..	..

TABLE IV

Index numbers of prices for articles of food other than cereals and pulses

Year	Mustard and rapeseed	Ghee	Raw sugar	Refined sugar	Salt	Spices				
						Pepper	Chillies	Ginger	Other spices	Simple average of all spices
1909–13 ..	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1914 ...	117	120	96	93	100	111	80	83	130	101
1915 ...	93	115	122	107	180	104	108	72	140	106
1916 ...	89	114	113	147	240	109	118	71	139	109
1917 ..	96	120	116	132	270	158	120	77	105	115
1918 ..	125	135	96	209	330	167	124	99	132	131
1919 ..	229	158	151	267	270	171	204	106	124	151
1920 ..	188	197	192	217	310	171	206	116	162	164
1921 ..	171	166	227	287	290	136	132	105	140	128
1922 ..	171	168	178	275	300	94	167	98	115	119
1923 ..	151	188	122	174	360	98	182	127	144	138
1924 ..	173	186	127	161	300	98	156	167	237	165
1925 ..	184	131	156	166	260	109	162	205	266	186
1926 ..	192	171	162	181	250	231	157	196	308	223
1927 ..	197	177	111	191	250	197	173	146	285	200
1928 ..	199	172	118	172	250	250	142	137	234	191
1929 ..	191	170	145	181	250	294	124	148	238	201
1930 ..	176	171	124	244	260	279	160	148	255	211
1931 ..	..	233	89	166	250	165	119	119	173	144
1932 ..	96	144	78	127	250	127	85	87	202	125
1933 ..	78	127	55	164	150	121	76	75	181	113
1934 ..	83	97	78	166	270	99	89	71	191	113
1935 ..	122	100	96	162	270	..	..	..	..	..

A glance at these tables shows that all commodities do not have an uniform variation—the prices of some have risen while those of others actually show a fall. In order to find out the average effect of the rise or fall in the value of these commodities, the simplest method would have been to total up all the indices and to divide them by the number of commodities. This is known as a simple arithmetic average. Such an average may record the rise or fall in the value of money but it would not be an accurate measure of the prosperity or adversity of any particular class or community. It may give us a wrong reading of the actual change in the cost of living of the industrial labourers. Among a series of commodities the importance of each individual commodity differs and, in order to arrive at a true conclusion, weights should be allotted to all the commodities according to their relative importance to the consumers. Allotment of weights can be made on various principles and in this inquiry weights have been calculated on the basis of actual family budgets. Even among ordinary labourers, there are wide differences in the standards of living. There is no minimum wage legislation in this country nor is there any standardization of wages within an industry or a province. However, it can safely be said that a vast majority of the industrial labourers in this province gets below Rs.50 per mensem. Within this income group there are smaller sub-groups which are no less important. In the memorandum submitted by the Government of these provinces to the Royal Commission on Labour (1929) all workers at Cawnpore were divided into four income groups, namely, above Rs.40 and up to Rs.50, above Rs.30 and up to Rs.40, above Rs.15 and up to Rs.30 and Rs.15 and below. Family budgets were collected for the different groups separately and it was on the basis of actual expenditure in each group that weights were allotted.

Family budgets were collected on a random sampling basis. There would now be four indices for the labouring classes—one for each group. A general index for the labourers as a whole would be the weighted average index for these groups. Weights will be allotted to the groups on the basis of their respective strength of numbers. The following tables show average expenditure on various items of food in each income group and their percentages to total expenses under food with the number of men in each grade :

TABLE V

The following tables show average expenditure on various items of food in each income group and their percentages to total expenses under that head along with the number of families in each grade.

Food and cereals

	Group I Above Rs.40 and up to Rs.50	Group II Above Rs. 30 and up to Rs.40	Group III Above Rs.15 and up to Rs.30	Group IV Rs.15 and below
Number of families in each group ..	76	145	380	128

—	Actual expenditure	Percentage to total expenses under this head	Actual expenditure	Percentage to total expenses under this head	Actual expenditure	Percentage to total expenses under this head	Actual expenditure	Percentage to total expenses under this head
	Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.	
Rice	2 4 9	22	1 15 10	25	1 5 6	23·6	0 13 6	21·1
Wheat	6 5 2	60	4 10 8	57·7	3 4 3	56·4	2 6 6	60·2
Gram	0 3 4	2	0 3 1	1·9	0 2 7	3·6	0 1 6	1·6
Arhar dal and pulses	1 10 7	16	1 7 2	15·4	0 15 9	16·4	0 11 5	17·1
Total ..	10 4 10	100	8 4 9	100·0	5 12 1	100·0	4 0 11	100·0
Articles of food other than cereals and pulses								
Sugar unrefined	0 2 8	3·7	0 2 8	4·75	0 1 7	5·3	0 1 2	6·25
Sugar refined	0 9 6	11·1	0 5 11	9·5	0 3 0	10·5	0 1 6	6·25
Ghee	2 12 4	51·9	1 6 10	42·9	0 11 11	36·8	0 4 6	25·00
Salt	0 1 11	3·7	0 1 9	4·75	0 1 6	5·3	0 1 3	6·25
Spices	0 12 0	14·8	0 8 2	14·3	0 5 5	15·8	0 3 8	18·75
Oil	0 14 3	14·8	0 12 1	23·8	0 9 2	26·3	0 6 6	37·50
Total ..	5 4 8	100·0	3 5 5	100·0	2 0 7	100·0	1 2 7	100·0
Sweets	0 4 0	..	0 2 6	..	0 1 4	..	0 0 4	..
Meat and fish	0 15 7	..	0 11 2	..	0 5 3	..	0 3 0	..
Milk	1 10 2	..	0 11 9	..	0 4 4	..	0 1 4	..
Vegetable and fruits	1 2 0	..	0 14 10	..	0 9 6	..	0 6 6	..
Miscellaneous	0 14 6	..	1 10 2	..	1 7 1	..	0 10 4	..
Total ..	4 14 3	..	4 2 5	..	2 11 6	..	1 5 6	..

In order to find out the weights for the items of food for Cawnpore labourers as a whole we have to multiply the percentage expenditure under each head in different grades by the number of men in the grade. These sums will have to be totalled up and divided by the total number of labourers whose budgets have been studied. This method will give due representation to every class of labourer in these weights. The final weights for the various items will be as follows :

Cereals

Rice	$(76\times22)+(145\times25)+(380\times23\cdot6)+(128\times21\cdot1)\div729$	$=23\cdot3$
Wheat	$(76\times60)+(145\times57\cdot7)+(380\times56\cdot4)+(128\times60\cdot2)\div729$	$=57\cdot7$
Gram	$(76\times2)+(145\times1\cdot9)+(380\times3\cdot6)+(128\times1\cdot6)\div729$	$=2\cdot7$
Arhar dal and pulses.	$(76\times16)+(145\times15\cdot4)+(380\times16\cdot4)+(128\times17\cdot1)\div729$	$=16\cdot3$
	Total ..	100·0

Food articles other than cereals and pulses

Sugar unrefined	$(76\times3\cdot7)+(145\times4\cdot75)+(380\times5\cdot3)+(128\times6\cdot25)\div729$	$=5\cdot2$
Sugar refined ..	$(76\times11\cdot1)+(145\times9\cdot5)+(380\times10\cdot5)+(128\times6\cdot25)\div729$	$=9\cdot6$
Ghee ..	$(76\times51\cdot9)+(145\times42\cdot9)+(380\times36\cdot8)+(128\times25)\div729$	$=37\cdot5$
Salt ..	$(76\times3\cdot7)+(145\times4\cdot75)+(380\times5\cdot3)+(128\times6\cdot25)\div729$	$=5\cdot2$
Spices ..	$(76\times14\cdot8)+(145\times14\cdot3)+(380\times15\cdot8)+(128\times18\cdot75)\div729$	$=15\cdot9$
Oil ..	$(76\times14\cdot8)+(145\times23\cdot8)+(380\times26\cdot3)+(128\times37\cdot5)\div$	$=20\cdot6$
	Total ..	100·0

With these weights we shall calculate the index number for cereals and pulses and for articles of food other than cereals and pulses. We have omitted certain articles like *bajra*, sweets, meat and fish, milk, vegetables, fruits and miscellaneous articles of food. Most of these are consumed casually, temporarily or seasonably and hence an inclusion of these articles may depict a state of affairs which may be true only at a particular time of the year. Milk and meat are fairly permanent in consumption but no reliable statistics of prices are available for them.

TABLE VI

Weighted indices of cereals and pulses

Commodities	Rice		Wheat		Gram		Arhar dal		Total of columns 2, 4, 6 and 8	Weighted index number of cereals and pulses
Weight	23·3		57·7		2·7		16·3			
Years	Index number	Product of index number and weight	Index number	Product of index number and weight	Index number	Product of index number and weight	Index number	Product of index number and weight		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1914	113	2632·9	122	7039·4	163	440·1	166	2705·8	12818·2	128
1915	120	2796·0	133	7962·6	146	394·2	172	2803·6	13956·4	140
1916	128	2982·4	116	6693·2	125	337·5	147	2396·1	12409·2	124
1917	120	2796·0	122	7039·4	125	337·5	119	1939·7	12112·6	121
1918	137	3192·1	154	8885·8	163	440·1	147	2396·1	14914·1	149
1919	174	4054·2	195	11251·5	283	764·1	306	4987·8	21057·6	210
1920	207	4823·1	176	10155·2	221	596·7	291	4743·3	20318·3	203
1921	180	4194·0	203	11713·1	254	685·8	263	4286·9	20879·8	209
1922	117	3891·1	197	11366·9	221	596·7	197	3211·1	19065·8	191
1923	143	3331·9	138	7962·6	121	326·7	156	2542·8	14164·0	142
1924	150	3495·0	138	7962·6	92	248·4	156	2542·8	14448·8	144
1925	161	3751·3	170	9809·0	167	450·9	169	2754·7	16765·9	168
1926	170	3961·0	170	9809·0	184	496·8	213	3471·9	17738·7	177
1927	170	3961·0	149	8597·3	188	507·6	244	3977·2	17043·1	170
1928	172	4007·6	151	8712·7	188	507·6	234	3814·2	17042·1	170
1929	178	4147·4	154	8885·8	233	629·1	244	3977·2	17709·5	177
1930	140	3262·0	100	5770·0	163	440·1	191	3113·3	12585·4	126
1931	98	2283·4	73	4212·1	96	259·2	141	2298·3	9053·0	91
1932	102	2376·6	92	5308·4	96	259·2	141	2298·3	10242·5	102
1933	98	2283·4	89	5135·3	104	280·8	125	2037·5	9737·0	97
1934	87	2027·1	78	4500·6	96	259·2	122	1988·6	8775·5	88
1935	100	2330·0	84	4846·8	100	270·0	156	2542·8	9989·6	100

TABLE VI-A

Weight indices of articles of food other than cereals and pulses

Commodities ..	Mustard and rapeseed		Ghee		Raw sugar		Refined Sugar		Salt		Spices		Sum of column nos. 2, 4, 6, 8, 10 and 12	Weighted index number
Weight ..	26·6		37·5		5·2		9·6		5·2		15·9			
Years	Index number	Product of weight and index number	Index number	Product of weight and index number	Index number	Product of weight and index number	Index number	Product of weight and index number	Index number	Product of weight and index number	Index number	Product of weight and index number		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1914 ..	117	3112·2	120	4500·0	96	499·2	93	892·8	100	520·0	101	1605·9	11130·1	111
1915 ..	93	2473·8	115	4312·5	122	634·4	107	1027·2	180	936·0	106	1685·4	11069·3	111
1916 ..	89	2367·4	114	4275·0	113	587·6	147	1411·2	240	1248·0	109	1733·1	11622·3	116
1917 ..	96	2553·6	120	4500·0	116	603·2	132	1267·2	270	1404·0	115	1828·5	12156 5	122
1918 ..	125	3325·0	135	5062·5	96	499·2	209	2006·4	330	1716·0	131	2082·9	14692·0	147
1919 ..	229	6091·4	158	5925·0	151	785·2	267	2563·2	270	1404·0	151	2400·9	19169·7	192
1920 ..	188	5000·8	197	7387·5	192	998·4	217	2083·2	310	1612·0	164	2607·6	19689·5	197
1921 ..	171	4548·6	166	6225·0	227	1180·4	287	2755·2	290	1508·0	126	2035·2	18252·4	183
1922 ..	171	4548·6	168	6300·0	178	925·6	275	2640·0	300	1560·0	119	1892·1	17866·3	179
1923 ..	151	4016·6	188	7050·0	122	634·4	174	1670·4	360	1872·0	138	2194·2	18437·6	184
1924 ..	173	4601·8	186	6975·0	127	660·4	161	1545·6	300	1560·0	165	2623·5	17966·3	180
1925 ..	184	4894·4	181	6787·5	156	811·2	166	1593·6	260	1352·0	186	2957·4	18396·1	184
1926 ..	192	5107·2	171	6412·5	162	842·4	181	1737·6	250	1300·0	223	3545·7	18945·4	189
1927 ..	197	5240·2	177	6637·5	111	577·2	191	1833·6	250	1300·0	200	3180·0	18768·5	188
1928 ..	199	5293·4	172	6450·0	118	613·6	172	1651·2	250	1300·0	191	3036·9	18345·1	183
1929 ..	191	5080·6	170	6375·0	145	754·0	181	1737·6	250	1300·0	201	3195·9	18443·1	184
1930 ..	176	4681·6	171	6412·5	124	644·8	244	2342·4	260	1352·0	211	3354·9	18788·2	188
1931 ..	..	..	233	8737·5	89	462·8	166	1593·6	250	1300·0	144	2289·6	14383·5	195
1932 ..	96	2553·6	144	5400·0	78	405·6	127	1219·2	250	1300·0	125	1987·5	12865·9	129
1933 ..	78	2074·8	127	4762·5	55	286·0	164	1574·4	150	780·0	113	1796·7	11374·4	114
1934 ..	83	2207·8	97	3637·5	78	405·6	166	1593·6	270	1404·0	113	1796·7	11045·2	110
1935 ..	122	3245·2	100	3750·0	86	499·2	162	1555·2	270	1404·0	..	..	10453·6	105

Light and Fuel

Let us now pass on to another important head in the cost of living index namely "Light and Fuel." For the purpose of lighting the workers generally use kerosene oil. Some of them use mustard oil as well but kerosene finds general use owing to its cheapness. As for fuel, coal is not found in use anywhere. Dry cowdung and firewood are the chief things used as fuel, the former being used chiefly to light a fire.

The prices of kerosene oil and firewood are given below :

Years	Kerosene oil per gallon in rupees	Index number	Firewood price per md.	Index number
	Rs.		Rs. a. p.	
1909	..	..	..	..
1910	..	..	..	..
1911	..	..	..	..
1912	0·40)			
1913	0·38)	100	0 6 6	100
1914	0·41	105	..	100
1915	0·41	105	..	100
1916	0·43	110	..	100
1917	0·54	138	..	100
1918	0·60	154	..	100
1919	0·86	221	0 13 0	200
1920	0·70	179	0 13 0	200
1921	0·75	192	0 13 0	200
1922	0·74	190	0 13 0	200
1923	0·67	172	0 13 0	200
1924	0·64	164	0 13 0	200
1925	0·66	169	0 13 0	200
1926	0·65	167	0 13 0	200
1927	0·67	172	0 13 0	200
1928	0·57	146	0 13 0	200
1929	0·55	141	0 13 0	200
1930	0·55	141	0 8 ½	125
1931	0·54	138	0 8 ½	125
1932	0·51	131	0 8 ½	125
1933	0·43	110	0 8 ½	125
1934	0·39	100	0 8 ½	125
1935				

The cost of firewood has also gone up. No accurate figures for the various years are available but oral inquiry shows that *babul* wood (generally used as fuel) was sold at the rate 20 *panseries* (2½ maunds) for a rupee in pre-war days. The post-war rate for the same kind of wood is 10 *panseries* (1¼ maund) for a rupee. Thus we find the rate doubled and hence the index number for the post-war period has been taken to be 200. In 1935, the rate for the same quality of wood is 16 *panseries* (2 maunds) and the index number would be 125.

An analysis of all the budgets shows that the total expenditure under light and fuel in the different income grades varies from 5·12 to 6·82 per cent. of their total income.

The following table shows percentage of expenditure under light and fuel for each grade :

Grade	Percentage expenditure	Number of men in the grade
Grade I	5·12	76
Grade II	5·63	145
Grade III	6·42	380
Grade IV	6·82	128

The weighted weight for light and fuel for all grades would be

$$(76\times5\cdot12)+(145\times5\cdot63)+(380\times6\cdot42)+(128\times6\cdot82)\div729=6\cdot2$$

of this about 75 per cent. is spent on fuel and the remaining 25 per cent. on light.

The following table gives the weighted indices for light and fuel during the whole period :

Years	Kerosene oil	Weight	Product of (1) and (2)	Firewood	Weight	Product of (4) and (5)	Total of (3) and (6)	Weighted index
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1914 ..	105	4·65	488·25	100	1·55	155·00	643·25	104
1915 ..	105	4·65	488·25	100	1·55	155·00	643·25	104
1916 ..	110	4·65	511·50	100	1·55	155·00	666·50	108
1917 ..	138	4·65	641·70	100	1·55	155·00	796·70	129
1918 ..	154	4·65	716·10	100	1·55	155·00	871·10	141
1919 ..	221	4·65	1027·65	200	1·55	310·00	1337·65	216
1920 ..	179	4·65	832·35	200	1·55	310·00	1142·35	184
1921 ..	192	4·65	892·80	200	1·55	310·00	1202·80	194
1922 ..	190	4·65	883·50	200	1·55	310·00	1193·50	193
1923 ..	172	4·65	799·80	200	1·55	310·00	1109·80	179
1924 ..	164	4·65	762·60	200	1·55	310·00	1072·60	173
1925 ..	169	4·65	785·85	200	1·55	310·00	1095·85	177
1926 ..	167	4·65	776·55	200	1·55	310·00	1086·55	175
1927 ..	172	4·65	799·80	200	1·55	310·00	1109·80	179
1928 ..	146	4·65	678·90	200	1·55	310·00	988·90	166
1929 ..	141	4·65	655·65	200	1·55	310·00	965·65	157
1930 ..	141	4·65	655·65	125	1·55	193·75	849·40	135
1931 ..	138	4·65	641·70	125	1·55	193·75	835·45	138
1932 ..	131	4·65	599·15	125	1·55	193·75	792·90	124
1933 ..	110	4·65	511·50	125	1·55	193·75	705·25	114
1934 ..	100	4·65	465·00	125	1·55	193·75	658·75	10
1935 ..	..	..	..	125	1·55	193·75	..	..

House Rent

Cawnpore is a congested city honey-combed with *bastis* and slums. The industrialization of the city has added much to its population. The mill authorities have tried to solve the problem of housing for their workers and with this end in view some settlements have been constructed for housing the workers. But these settlements do not afford accommodation for all the workers and hence the majority of them reside in the city. In dealing with the rise or fall in the rent we shall deal with it under two heads—the rent in settlements and in the city.

Regular records of the rent paid by the workers to the mill authorities are maintained and a comparison of the figures in different periods is possible. Rents in the settlements differ with the nature and quality of quarters offered. The amenities provided in a settlement are also taken into consideration in fixing the rent.

In Lal Imli Woollen Mills Settlement known as Mac Robertganj, the rent charged for a single room quarter in 1914 was annas 10 per month. In 1920 the rent for the same quarters rose to Rs.1-4 per month and in 1927 the figures went up to Rs.1-14 per month and this rate continues till today. Thus taking the year 1913 or 1914 as the base year, the index number for rent in 1920 was 200 and in 1927 and 1929 it comes to 300. Again in Allenganj Settlement, the rent in 1913 or 1914 for a single room quarter was annas 8 per month, in 1920 it reached Rs.1-2 per month, and in 1927 the rate, which is still maintained, was Rs.1-10 per month for the same quarter. Thus with the same base year, the index number for 1920 comes to 225 and in 1927 and 1929 it comes to 325.

There has been no change in house rent in the settlements in recent years. To sum up, the index number for house rent in the settlements from 1920 to 1927 has been 200 and since then the index number is 300.

In the city the rates have gone higher. For a small room for which annas 8 per month were paid in pre-war days the rent now charged is Rs.2 per month and the index number touches 400. An inquiry into the number of labourers living in mill settlements, *bastis* and *hatas* reveals that in 1935 the percentage of settlement dwellers at Cawnpore is only 19 and the remaining 81 per cent. have to seek their places of shelter in some part of the crowded *bastis*. Working on these percentages 27,445 workers live in the city and only 6,497 mill-hands are accommodated in industrial settlements provided by their employers. The weighted index number of house rent at Cawnpore will be 381. For the past years it can be safely said that the number of settlement dwellers was positively less as the mill-owners have only recently realized the need and the importance of providing decent houses for their workers. Thus after 1927 the index number of house rent can be justifiably taken to be 381. It is difficult to find out the yearly variations in

house rent and therefore for the period prior to 1927 the index number of the settlement, i.e. 200 is taken to be the index for the whole city. The family budgets show the following percentage of expenditure on house rent in the different grades :

Grade I	7·22
Grade II	8·64
Grade III	9·43
Grade IV	9·04

The weighted weight for house rent for all groups will be :

$$(76\times7\cdot22)+(145\times8\cdot64)+(380\times9\cdot43)+(128\times9\cdot04)\div729=8\cdot97$$

Clothing

No reliable price statistics can be had for all the different qualities of cloth consumed by the large mass of labourers. The price movement for imported and exported cloth is available and is quoted below :

Years	Imported Piece-goods per yard in rupees			Exported Piece-goods per yard in rupees	
	Grey	White	Coloured	Grey	Coloured
1909					
1910	0·15	0·16	0·19	0·15	0·31
1911					
1912					
1913	0·16	0·17	0·20	0·16	0·31
Average					
1914	0·16	0·18	0·21	0·16	0·31
1915	0·16	0·18	0·21	0·16	0·31
1916	0·16	0·17	0·24	0·14	0·29
1917	0·20	0·22	0·33	0·16	0·28
1918	0·30	0·28	0·41	0·23	0·34
1919	0·40	0·41	0·52	0·35	0·48
1920	0·42	0·50	0·61	0·39	0·48
1921	0·46	0·52	0·71	0·46	0·54
1922	0·36	0·41	0·55	0·41	0·47
1923	0·33	0·37	0·52	0·37	0·46
1924	0·30	0·37	0·51	0·29	0·42
1925	0·34	0·37	0·49	0·30	0·40
1926	0·31	0·34	0·43	0·28	0·40
1927	0·26	0·31	0·38	0·31	0·38
1928	0·24	0·28	0·35	0·30	0·40
1929	0·24	0·28	0·34	0·30	0·37
1930	0·23	0·28	0·32	0·29	0·36
1931	0·19	0·23	0·28	0·27	0·35
1932	0·16	0·19	0·23	0·27	0·31
1933	0·14	0·18	0·20	0·27	0·32
1934	0·14	0·18	0·19	0·26	0·30
1935	..	..	..	..	..

Index number of prices of cotton piece-goods

Years	Imported piece-goods			Exported piece-goods		General average index of cloth
	Grey	White	Coloured	Grey	Coloured	
1909–13.. ..	100	100	100	100	100	100
1914	103	109	108	103	100	105
1915	103	109	108	103	100	105
1916	103	103	123	90	94	103
1917	129	133	169	103	90	125
1918	194	170	210	148	110	166
1919	258	248	267	226	155	231
1920	271	303	313	252	155	259
1921	297	315	364	297	174	289
1922	232	248	282	265	152	236
1923	213	224	267	239	148	218
1924	194	224	262	187	135	200
1925	219	224	251	194	129	203
1926	200	206	221	181	129	187
1927	168	188	195	200	133	177
1928	155	170	179	194	129	165
1929	155	170	174	194	119	162
1930	148	170	164	187	116	157
1931	123	139	144	174	113	139
1932	103	115	118	174	100	12[illegible]
1933	90	109	103	174	103	116
1934	90	109	97	168	97	11[illegible]
1935	..	..	..	..	..	..

The following table gives the percentage of expenditure on cloth in the various grades :

Grade I	7·07
Grade II	7·20
Grade III	7·61
Grade IV	8·07

The weighted weight for clothing will be :

$$(76 \times 7 \cdot 07) + (145 \times 7 \cdot 20) + (380 \times 7 \cdot 61) + (128 \times 8 \cdot 07) \div 729 = 7 \cdot 6$$

Miscellaneous

There are a number of miscellaneous expenses incurred by the labourers every month. Items included under this head are : barber, *dhobi*, sweeper, medicines, education, railway fares, tobacco, liquor, toddy, *pan-supari* (betel-nut), amusements, festivals, remittances abroad, interest on debt, repayment of debt, subscription, etc. The most common and more or less permanent miscellaneous expenditure is on smoking and on the use of finely cut betel-nuts for chewing. Tobacco leaf mixed with lime and betel-nut chips is the commonest form of the use of tobacco, though the indigenous smoking pipe known as the *huqqa* and *biris* are fairly generally used. Cigarettes are less popular due to

their high cost. The prices and index numbers of tobacco leaf and betel-nuts are given below in rupees :

Years	Prices		Index numbers	
	Tobacco per maund	Betel-nuts per cwt.	Tobacco	Betel-nuts
1909	8·9			
1910	8·9	8·96	..	..
1911	8·5			
1912	8·5			
1913	15·6	11·2	..	..
Average	*10·1*	*10·08*	*100*	*100*
1914	14·4	11·2	143	111
1915	11·0	10·4	110	103
1916	10·8	10·9	107	108
1917	13·3	11·4	132	113
1918	15·7	11·9	155	118
1919	13·2	13·4	131	133
1920	14·8	13·8	146	137
1921	16·4	15·3	162	152
1922	19·0	13·9	188	138
1923	16·3	14·7	161	146
1924	15·0	14·8	149	147
1925	18·1	16·6	180	164
1926	20·4	19·9	202	197
1927	21·3	21·1	211	209
1928	17·3	20·0	171	198
1929	18·8	17·1	186	170
1930	16·0	16·7	158	165
1931	11·9	15·9	118	157
1932	6·9	13·6	68	130
1933	4·9	10·6	49	105
1934	5·66	8·8	56	87
1935	7·625	..	76	..

The following table shows the percentage expenditure under this head in each grade :

	Tobacco	Pan-supari
Grade I	1·1	1·4
Grade II	1·2	1·3
Grade III	1·2	0·9
Grade IV	2	0·9

Weighted weights for tobacco and *supari* will be :

Tobacco—$(76 \times 1 \cdot 1) + (145 \times 1 \cdot 2) + (380 \times 1 \cdot 2) + (128 \times 2) \div 729 = 1 \cdot 33$

Pan-supari—$(76 \times 1 \cdot 4) + (145 \times 1 \cdot 3) + (380 \times \cdot 9) + (128 \times \cdot 9) \div 729 = 1 \cdot 0$

Table showing weighted index of tobacco and *pan-supari*:

Years	Tobacco		Betel nuts		Total of columns 2 and 4	Weighted index number
	Index number	Product of index number and weight	Index number	Product of index number and weight		
	1	2	3	4	5	6
1914	143	190·19	111	114·33	304·52	129
1915	110	146·30	103	106·09	252·39	107
1916	107	142·31	108	111·24	253·55	107
1917 .. .	132	175·56	113	116·39	291·95	124
1918	155	206·15	118	121·54	327·69	139
1919	131	174·23	133	136·99	311·22	132
1920	146	194·18	137	141·11	335·29	142
1921	162	215·46	152	156·56	372·02	158
1922	188	250·04	138	142·14	392·18	166
1923	161	214·13	146	150·38	364·51	154
1924	149	198·17	147	151·41	349·58	148
1925	180	239·40	164	168·92	408·32	173
1926	202	268·66	197	202·91	471·57	199
1927	211	280·63	209	215·27	495·90	210
1928	171	227·43	198	203·94	431·37	183
1929	186	247·38	170	175·10	422·48	179
1930	158	210·14	165	169·95	380·09	161
1931	118	156·94	157	161·71	318·65	135
1932	68	90·44	130	133·90	224·34	95
1933	49	65·17	105	108·15	173·32	73
1934	56	74·48	87	89·61	164·09	70
1935	76	101·08	..	..	101·08	76

General cost of living index

In short, we find the weighted index numbers for the various heads for all the years. Weights have been allotted to each of these heads according to their importance in a worker's budget. The weighted indices for different heads are multiplied by the weights for each head and a general weighted index number for the cost of living for all the labourers is obtained by totalling up the products of weights and weighted index numbers for each head and dividing the total by the sum of all weights.

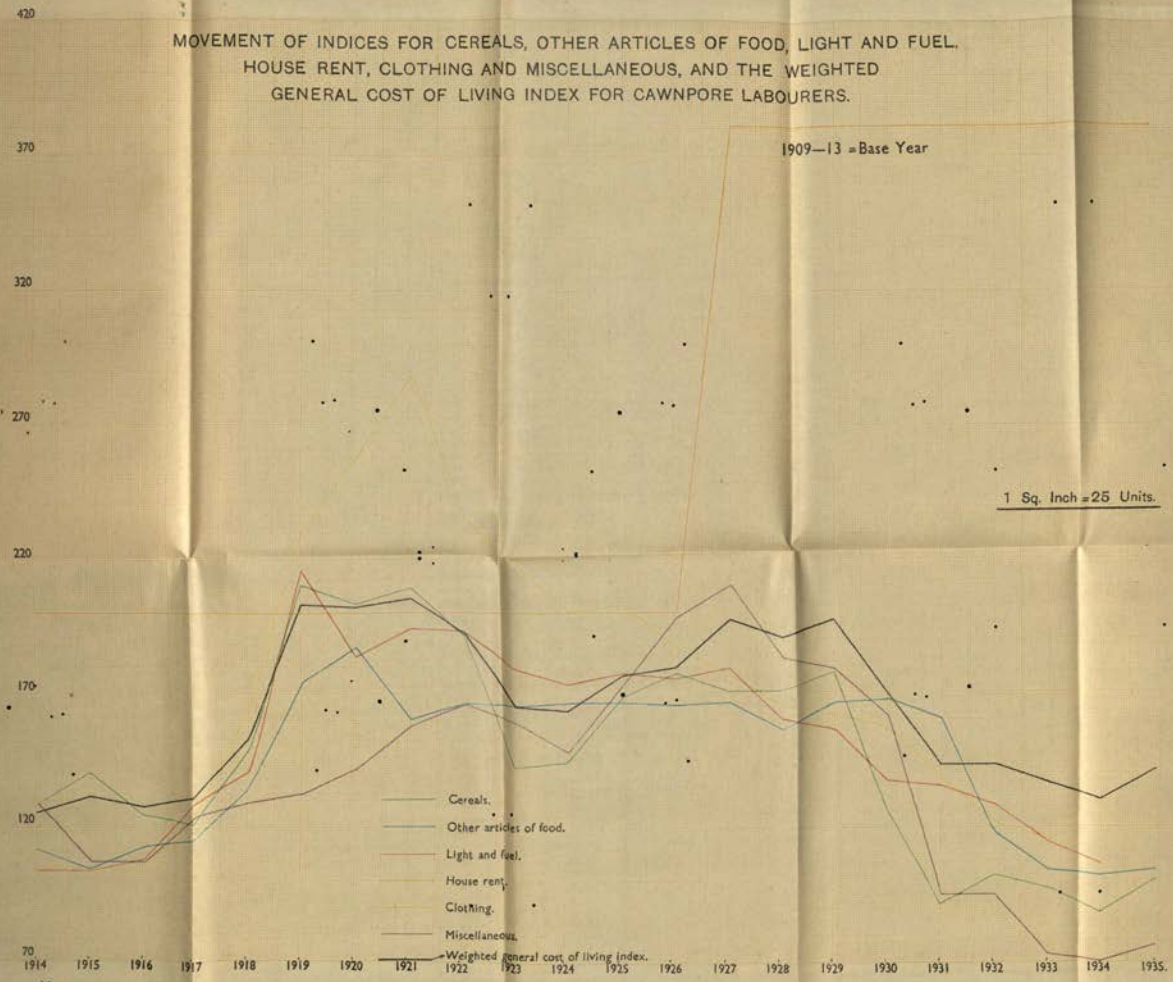
Table showing weighted index number of cost of living for all grades of labourers at Cawnpore

Weight	Cereals 35·3		Other articles of food 12·9		Light and fuel 6·2		House rent 8·97		Clothing 7·6		Miscellaneous 2·36		Total of columns 2, 4, 6, 8, 10 and 12	Weighted general cost of living index
Years	Index number	Product of index number and weight	Index number	Product of index number and weight	Index number	Product of index number and weight	Index number	Product of index number and weight	Index number	Product of index number and weight	Index number	Product of index number and weight		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1914 ..	123	1431·9	111	1431·9	104	643·25	200	1794·0	105	798·0	129	304·52	9190·07	125
1915 ..	140	1431·9	111	1131·9	104	643·25	200	1794·0	105	798·0	107	252·39	9661·54	132
1916 ..	124	1496·4	116	1496·4	108	666·50	200	1794·0	103	782·8	107	253·55	9370·45	128
1917 ..	121	1573·8	122	1573·8	129	796·70	200	1794·0	125	950·0	124	291·95	9677·75	132
1918 ..	149	1996·3	147	1996·3	141	871·10	200	1794·0	166	1261·6	139	327·69	11510·39	157
1919 ..	210	2476·8	192	2476·8	216	1337·65	200	1794·0	231	1755·6	132	311·22	15088·27	206
1920 ..	203	2541·3	197	2541·3	184	1142·35	200	1794·0	259	1968·4	142	335·29	14947·24	204
1921 ..	209	2360·7	183	2360·7	194	1202·80	200	1794·0	289	2196·4	158	372·02	15303·62	209
1922 ..	191	2309·1	179	2309·1	193	1193·50	200	1794·0	236	1793·6	166	392·18	14224·68	194
1923 ..	142	2373·6	184	2373·6	179	1109·80	200	1794·0	218	1656·8	154	364·51	12311·40	168
1224 ..	144	2322·0	180	2322·0	173	1072·60	200	1794·0	200	1520·0	148	349·58	12141·48	166
1925 ..	168	2373·6	184	2373·6	177	1095·85	200	1794·0	203	1542·8	173	408·32	13144·97	179
1926 ..	177	2438·1	189	2438·1	175	1086·55	200	1794·0	187	1421·2	199	471·57	13459·52	184
1927 ..	170	2425·2	188	2425·2	179	1109·80	381	3417·57	177	1345·2	210	495·90	14794·67	202
1928 ..	170	2360·7	183	2360·7	160	998·90	381	3417·57	165	1254·0	183	431·37	14463·54	197
1929 ..	177	2373·6	184	2373·6	156	965·65	381	3417·57	162	1231·2	179	422·48	14658·60	200
1930 ..	126	2425·2	188	2425·2	137	849·40	381	3417·57	157	1193·2	161	380·09	12713·26	173
1931 ..	91	2515·5	195	2515·5	135	835·45	381	3417·57	139	1056·4	95	224·34	10936·31	149
1932 ..	102	1664·1	129	1664·1	128	792·90	381	3417·57	122	927·2	95	224·34	10626·71	145
1933 ..	97	1470·6	114	1470·6	114	705·25	381	3417·57	116	881·6	73	173·32	10072·44	137
1934 ..	88	1419·0	110	1419·0	106	658·75	381	3417·57	112	851·2	70	164·09	9616·01	131
1935 ..	100	1354·5	105	1354·5	..	..	381	3417·57	..	..	76	101·08	8403·15	141

The above table shows the net result of the movement of prices of various commodities consumed by the working classes. Compared to the average for the five years immediately preceding the Great War. the cost of living index in 1914 went up by 25 per cent. It continued to rise slowly up to 1918. There was a sharp rise in that year and again in 1919 when the cost of living index went up to 206. It continued at this level till 1921 and thereafter it fell steadily to 166 in 1924 slowly rising again to 202 by 1927 continuing at that figure till 1929. The period of depression began from this year and the cost of living index fell sharply to 149 in two years, and thereafter declined steadily till 1934 when the record low figure of 131 during the last two decades was reached. In 1935, a slight recovery of prices was noticed and the cost of living index rose again by 10 points.

The important years for purposes of comparison are 1914, 1921, 1929 and 1935. The rise in the cost of living index between 1914 and 1921 was 109 per cent. From 1921 to 1929 the index number fell but rose again and the actual decrease in this period was only 9 points, or 4·3 per cent. During the depression between 1929 and 1935 the cost of living index declined by 32 per cent. It is however still 41 per cent. higher than the figure for the base years 1909—1913.

MOVEMENT OF INDICES FOR CEREALS, OTHER ARTICLES OF FOOD, LIGHT AND FUEL, HOUSE RENT, CLOTHING AND MISCELLANEOUS, AND THE WEIGHTED GENERAL COST OF LIVING INDEX FOR CAWNPORE LABOURERS.



CHAPTER II

WAGES

Classification of Labour

Wages differ from industry to industry and from job to job. This leads us to an examination of the system of classification of workers. In Cawnpore the most important classification of the workers in general is between industry and industry. But within an industry we find the need of a more detailed system of classification. Such classification should be based firstly on the nature of work. In this classification we find workers divided into skilled and unskilled labourers. Skilled labourers again are divided into workers of various departments. These departments are named after the different outstanding processes in the industry. Within these departments, a further division of workers according to the particular work of the process is noticed. The importance of the classification lies in the difference of wages according to skill.

The second type of classification is based on sex. Here male and female workers are grouped separately. It is important because the females are employed only in a few simpler processes of an industry and their wages are lower.

The third type is based on age. Prior to the 1934 Act, factory operatives were divided into two age groups: (1) adults—male or female and (2) children of both sexes, i.e. persons over 12 and under 15 years of age. A third group of 'adolescents' has now been introduced. These are defined as persons of both sexes who are over the age of 15 years and under the age of 17 years but who have not been certified as fit for employment as adults. Boys under twelve are not allowed to work in factories. From the viewpoint of wages, this classification is important because children and adolescents are allowed to work only for half days and in a few specified processes of various departments. Working for half the day only means about half the wages earned by an adult worker.

Lastly, there is a classification based on the system of determining the wages. Here we find the system of piece wages and time wages. Classification according to piece and time wages is determined by two main considerations. The first consideration is that the earnings of a swift and honest worker should not be limited by fixing a specified amount but he should have full opportunity of taking advantage of his merits. With this principle in view, the piece wage system is followed in those departments of an industry where swiftness and honest working can ensure higher wages, e.g. the weaving department in the textile

industries. Again, this system finds greater preference in factories, for it requires less supervision and control on the part of the owners and it is observed that the piece wage system is being extended to every department wherever it can be easily applied. But this does not mean that those who cannot be swift in their work, by reason of their age or sex, should also be subject to the same system and hence females and children are paid a fixed time wage.

Importance of various industries

Out of 71 factories for different industries at Cawnpore giving employment to 41,346 workers per day on an average, cotton, leather and woollen industries together have 29 factories with an average daily number of 33,498 workers. It is, therefore, obvious that these three are the main industries of Cawnpore and we shall concentrate our attention on them. Of the three industries, cotton occupies the first place with 19 factories and an average daily number of 27,101 workers. It is followed by leather and woollen industries with 7 and 3 factories employing 4,872 and 1,525 workers, on an average, per day, respectively.

As to the exact division of workers at Cawnpore according to age and sex, the annual report of the working of the Indian Factories Act in the United Provinces for the year 1934 shows that out of 41,346 workers in all, there are 41,200 adult workers (39,784 males and 1,416 females) and 146 children.

Collection of data

Before stating the actual wages received by the workers in different industries working in various departments for the years under review, it would be better to give a short explanation regarding the data available on this subject. " Prices and Wages in India," formerly published annually by the Government of India shows the amount of wages in some recognized factories of Cawnpore, from 1896 to 1922. In working out the wages in a factory, an attempt has been made to give separately the wages for the various departments of the factory. In some cases, the subdivisions in a department have also been considered and the wages are quoted for every job separately; in others, the rates of wages for males, females and children are mentioned and no wages are recorded according to the job, while in the rest, no sub-classification within a department is resorted to. As to the system of arriving at the average monthly wage of the worker in a particular department the method adopted was of dividing the monthly pay sheet of the factory for that department by the total number of employees in the department.

The rates of wages given by the report do not disclose the true position because it does not show a detailed classification of wages for some industries. Secondly, the amount of wages has been arrived at by computing a simple arithmetic average, and the actual number of low wage earners cannot be traced.

The second source is the annual reports of the working of the Indian Factories Act in the United Provinces for the various years, issued by the Chief Inspector of Factories and Boilers, United Provinces. The data supplied by these reports for this purpose are very meagre. Here we find no classification at all. The wages of certain well-known jobs are simply quoted without even mentioning the name of the industry. Wages are calculated by a simple division of the total amount of wages paid to class of workers in different mills in the province by the total number of workers in the class throughout the province. These figures are not therefore helpful.

Lastly a detailed investigation was undertaken in the course of the present survey to ascertain the present wages for various jobs in these industries. The difference in the rate of wages for the workers doing the same type of work on different machines has also been mentioned. In some departments where the rates of wages differ according to the quality of the work, an attempt has been made to give the rates for various qualities. Finally, in case of piece wages, the average daily earnings have been calculated on the basis of the maximum work that can be done in a day.

As all the data available were collected on the same lines, conversion into index numbers is not possible in every case but wherever possible such data have been presented in the form of index numbers.

Now we proceed to an examination of wages in these three industries in the order of their importance, with the various classifications followed in the industry.

The Cotton Industry

The cotton industry has been divided into four main departments, (1) the blowing and carding room, (2) the mule room, (3) the throstle room, and (4) the weaving room. Workers in these departments are again classified according to age, sex and the nature of work.

As to the system of payment both time and piece wages are adopted. It is mainly in the weaving department, and in some jobs in the throstle and carding departments that the piece wage system is resorted to; in the blowing and mule rooms wages are mostly paid on a fixed monthly basis.

Children and women are generally paid on the time wage system.

"Prices and Wages in India" published by the Government of India in 1923 gives the following amounts as wages for the different types of workers in each department; the wages in these departments are also shown according to age and sex, for a period of 27 years (1896—1922)

Monthly wages (in rupees) in a Cotton Mill in Cawnpore

In January of—	Blowing and card room			Mule room			Throstle room			Weaving room		
	Men	Women	Children	Men	Women	Children	Men	Women	Children	Men	Women	Children
1896 ..	6·12	3·25	4·25	5	3·25	4·25	5	3·25	4·25	6·43	4	4
1897 ..	6·12	3·25	4·25	5	3·25	4·25	5	3·25	4·25	6·43	4	4
1898 ..	6·12	3·25	4·25	5	3·25	4·25	5	3·25	4·25	6·43	4	4
1899 ..	6·12	3·25	4·25	5	..	4·25	5	..	4·25	6·43	4	4
1900 ..	6·12	3·25	4·25	5	..	4·25	5	..	4·25	6·43	4	4
1901 ..	6·5	3·0	4·37	6·66	..	4·25	6	..	3·33	7·79	4·06	2·09
1902 ..	6·5	3·0	4·37	6·66	..	4·25	6	..	3·33	7·79	4·06	2·08
1903 ..	6·63	..	4·37	6·75	..	4·25	6	..	3·33	7·89	..	2·33
1904 ..	6·5	..	4·33	6 66	..	4·25	6	..	3·5	7	..	3
1905 ..	6·53	..	4·5	6·78	..	4·37	6·12	..	3·66	6·65	..	3
1906 ..	6·66	..	4·33	6·75	..	4·25	6·12	..	3·66	6·65	..	3
1907 ..	6·66	..	4·33	6·75	..	4·25	6·12	..	3·75	8·87	..	3
1908 ..	7·33	..	5	7·5	..	5	6·5	..	4·0	7·16	4·5	3·2
1909 ..	7·55	..	5	7·66	..	5·06	6·31	..	4·0	7·25	4·5	3·2
1910 ..	7·53	..	5	7·66	..	5·06	6·37	..	4·12	7·37	4·5	3·27
1911 ..	7·61	..	5	7·66	..	5·06	7·06	..	4·16	7·78	4·5	3·81
1912 ..	7·61	..	5	7·66	..	5·25	7·06	..	4·16	7·78	4·5	3·85
1913 ..	7·72	4·5	5	9·42	..	5·5	7·25	..	4·8	7·95	4·5	4·6
1914 ..	7·72	4·5	5	9·42	..	5·5	7·25	..	4·8	8·05	4·5	4·6
1915 ..	7·72	..	..	9·7	..	5·5	7·45	..	4·8	8·19	5	4·6
1916 ..	7·7	..	..	9·7	..	5·5	7·45	..	4·8	8·64	5	4·6
1917 ..	7·7	..	..	9·7	..	5·5	7·45	..	4·8	8·65	5	4·66
1918 ..	8·2	..	6	9·9	..	6·0	8·7	..	6·5	9	5·5	6·0
1919 ..	9·2	..	6	10·08	..	6·0	9·1	..	6·5	9·7	..	6·5
1920 ..	11·38	7·5	7·5	12·6	..	7·5	11·37	..	8·12	12·14	..	8·12
1921 ..	(i) 18 to 19	..	12	19 to 26	..	12 to 15	17 to 20	..	12 to 14	17 to 27	..	12 to 14
	(ii) 20 to 36	..	..	32 to 40	..	..	..	..	..	25 to 45(3)	..	..
										12 to 16(4)		
1922 fixed wages	(i) 19 to 20	..	13	20 to 28	..	14	18 to 22	..	13 to 15	18 to 29	..	15
Piece wages.	(ii) 22 to 38	..	..	34 to 42	..	..	..	..	..	29 to 48(3)	..	
										13 to 17(4)		

(3) Double looms. (4) Single looms.

Since 1920, the bonus has been included in wages and it has been assumed that the workers have worked for the full mon

The wages in the above table have been calculated for the full month on the assumption that operatives have worked for the full month and in the case of piece wage workers, on the assumption that they got a full day's work each day. At the same time, no deductions for fines, absence, etc., have been taken into consideration. Thus the wages given do not show the actual amounts received by the workers. The figures denote the maximum amount that can be earned by a worker per month on the above assumptions.

How far such assumptions are true to the actual facts and how far deductions due to absenteeism, short work, fines, etc., reduce the actual wages secured, have been discussed later on.

The following table, compiled from statistics available in the annual reports of the Chief Inspector of Factories, United Provinces, shows the average monthly wages in rupees of certain types of industrial labourers in the cotton industry from 1909 to 1935 :

Year	Weaver	Spinner	Coolie
1909*	6·0	12·0	7·0
1910	6·0	12·0	7·0
1911	12·0	18·0	6·0
1912*	12·0	18·0	6·0
1913*	12·0	18·0	6·0
Average	9·6	15·6	6·4
1914	12·5	21·0	9·0
1915*	13·0	21·0	9·0
1916	15·0	17·5	9·0
1917*	19·0	23·0	9·25
1918	23·5	24·0	9·25
1919	25·0	26·0	13·0
1920	32·0	28·0	16·0
1921	32·0	28·0	17·0
1922	36·0	28·0	17·0
1923	31·0	26·0	16·0
1924	31·0	29·0	16·0
1925	33·0	29·0	15·0
1926	31·0	29·0	17·0
1927	33·0	26·0	14·0
1928	33·0	25·0	15·0
1929*	33·0	25·0	15·0
1930*	33·0	25·0	15·0
1931*	25·5	21·875	13·875
1932*	25·5	21·875	13·875
1933*	25·5	21·875	13·875
1934*	25·5	21·875	13·875
1935*	25·5	21·875	13·875

*In these years the quotations were not given and these gaps have been filled in by interpalation.

An investigation was carried out into the wages of two well-established and old cotton factories which employ the largest number of workers. The wages given in the two factories named as A and B Mills,

are mentioned below separately, department by department and job by job, for the years 1929 and 1935.

Wages in A Mills in 1929

There are in these mills four main departments, the carding and the blowing department, the mule department, the throstle department and the weaving department. In the carding and the blowing department, the workers in the blowing section got in 1929 a fixed monthly wage of Rs.16-14 per adult worker, while in the carding section, according to the piece wage system, the workers employed on opening the cotton bales and putting the cotton into the carding machines, known as feeders, got piece wages at the rate of Rs.5 per 100 bales opened and fed into the machine. The average number of bales that a worker could open and feed in a day was fourteen. Thus his wages per day approximated to annas 11 only. This amount multiplied by 26, i.e. maximum number of working days in a month, gave the worker Rs.17-14. It should be noted that this was the maximum amount that the worker could earn if he attended the factory for all the 26 days punctually and was fortunate enough to escape fines. Again, there were workers in the card room whose rates were As.1-6, As.1-9, As.2, As.2-3 per " pai " of cotton wrapped on bobbins according to the fineness and quality of cotton thread. The average worker could wrap about 5 "pais" a day and hence the wages per day varied from As.7-6 to As.11-3. This when converted into approximate monthly wages came to between Rs.12-3 and Rs.18-4-6. The time wages in this department were Rs.12 and Rs.13-2 a month.

In the mule department the bobbin man and the sweeper of machines, were paid Rs.15-13 per month at a fixed monthly rate. Before 1929 one sweeper was required to sweep two machines only and was given Rs.15-13 per month, but in that year, the number of machines to be swept was doubled, the wages remaining the same. The rate for the head piecer was Rs.2-2 per 1,000 lb. of cotton worked and his monthly income averaged Rs.22 to Rs.24 whereas the rate for the assistant piecer was Re.1-12 per 1,000 lb. of cotton worked and maximum amount earned in a month was about Rs.18. The minder in this department got Rs.3 per 1,000 lb. of cotton worked and his earnings came to about Rs.34 per month. Lastly, the mistry got Rs.52 to Rs.54 per month.

In the throstle department, the time wages for ordinary workmen were annas 8 a day. For piece wage workers the rate was annas 10 per 1,000 lb. of cotton worked and his monthly income varied between Rs.14 and Rs.16. The mistries in this department got Rs.50 to Rs.52. On another job in the throstle room, known as the double throstle, the workers used to get Rs.15 and Rs.16-14 per month before 1929 but their wage fell then to Rs.12-13 and Rs.15-13 respectively. Moreover formerly one worker had in charge one throstle machine but in 1929 one worker had to look after two machines.

In the weaving department, the work is mostly done on the piece wage system. The difference in the wages for the different qualities and kinds of work in one department has been separately shown. The following were the rates and the average monthly incomes for the *dhoti* weavers of the factory :

Number	Size	Rate (in rupees)	Average daily output	Maximum monthly income
	Yds. Inches	Rs. a. p.		Rs. a.
0012	12×40	0 14 0 per 4 pairs	5 pairs	28 7
5012	11×40	0 13 9 ,,	,,	27 10
511	11×40	0 13 0 ,,	,,	26 6
40011	11×40	3 13 0 ,,	,,	26 6
11400	10×44	0 11 0 ,,	,,	22 5
65	10×44	1 0 0 ,,	,,	32 8
326	10×40	0 12 6 ,,	,,	25 4
324	10×40	0 11 9 ,,	,,	24 0
4010	10×40	0 10 3 ,,	,,	20 12
240	10×38	0 11 0 ,,	,,	22 5
322	10×38	0 11 6 ,,	,,	23 9
3810	10×38	0 10 6 ,,	,,	21 2
238	10×38	0 11 6 ,,	,,	23 9
40010	10×36	0 12 6 ,,	,,	24 6
320	10×36	0 11 3 ,,	,,	22 12
3610	10×36	0 10 3 ,,	,,	20 12
236	10×36	0 11 3 ,,	,,	22 12
1310	9×40	0 10 0 ,,	,,	20 5
99	9×39	0 10 0 ,,	,,	20 5
60	9×36	0 13 0 ,,	,,	20 6
40000	9×36	0 11 0 ,,	,,	22 5
2936	9×34	0 9 6 ,,	,,	15 7
1399	8×35	0 9 3 ,,	,,	15 0
55	..	0 11 0 ,,	,,	22 5

The rates and the monthly incomes of towel weavers were as follows :

Quantity	Size	Rate per unit	Maximum daily output of an average worker	Average monthly income
	Inches	Rs. a. p.	Doz.	Rs. a. p.
Ordinary	18×28	0 10 6 per 3 doz.	4	22 12 0
Do.	19×36	0 15 0 ,, 4 ,,	4	24 6
Do.	2×36	0 15 0 ,, 4 ,,	4	24 6 0
Do.	25×50	0 15 0 ,, 4 ,,	4	24 6 0
Do.	27½×50	1 2 0 ,, 3 ,,	3	29 4 0
Honeycomb	35×36	0 5 0 ,, ,,	3	24 6 0
Murry (coloured) ..	36×72	0 13 0 ,, ½ ,,	¾	30 0 0
Handsome, superior plain (white).	36×72	0 10 0 ,, ½ ,,	¾	24 6 0

Quantity	Size	Rate per unit	Maximum daily output of an average worker	Average monthly income
	Inches	Rs. a. p.	Doz.	Rs. a. p.
Superior plain ..	26×45	0 13 0 per ½ doz.	1½	30 0 0
Handsome coloured ..	26×45	1 4 6 ,, ,,	1	33 5 0
Superior plain ..	18×30	0 9 9 ,, ,,	2	31 11 0
Handsome coloured ..	30×54	0 11 0 ,, ,,	1	35 12 0
Superior plain ..	30×60	1 0 9 ,, ,,	1	27 2 0
Handsome coloured ..	24×36	0 11 0 ,, ,,	1	35 12 0
Superior plain ..	23×35	0 11 0 ,, ,,	1½	26 13 0

The output in the weaving of towels could be increased by 25 per cent. a day; but the work of the towel weavers included the feeding and arranging of thread before commencing the weaving operations. This feeding of thread took a quarter of their time, for the thread attached in half a day's time only lasts for 1½ days.

'Markin' weavers got a different rate as shown below:

Number of quantity	Size	Rate	Monthly income
		Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Rifle cloth	39″×48 yards ..	1 5 9	35 0 0
93000	40″×40 ,, ..	0 14 3	30 0 0
94½×94½	42″×38 ,, ..	0 11 0	32 0 0
93½×93½	40″×38 ,, ..	0 10 6	30 0 0
13½×13½	38″×37½ ,, ..	0 10 6	28 0 0
56×56	36″×37½ ,, ..	0 10 6	28 0 0
35×45	35″×35 ,, ..	0 9 6	26 0 0
Tent markin	40″×62 ,, ..	0 9 6	32 0 0
92½×92½	38″×38 ,, ..	0 9 0	28 0 0
91½×91½	34″×38 ,, ..	0 8 6	29 8 0
7800	36″×24 ,, ..	0 7 6	30 0 0
7600	34″×24 ,, ..	0 6 6	26 0 0
	Turbans		
	24″×126 yards ..	1 13 0	30 0 0
	Twill		
	36″×40 yards ..	0 12 0	25 0 0
	Zeens		
	32″×40 yards ..	1 0 0	30 0 0
	29″×60 ,, ..	1 3 0	30 0 0
	39″×40 ,, ..	0 13 6	30 0 0

Wages in A Mills in 1935—The current rates of wages (in 1935) in the various departments are different from what they were in 1929.

In the mule department the fortnightly wage of minders in 1929 was between Rs.20 to Rs.24 and the piece rate was Rs.3 per 1,000 lb. of yarn 16S to 10S but now the fortnightly wage varies between Rs.16 and Rs.18 and the rate is Re.0-3-6 per 1,000 hanks. Similarly piece workers used to get Rs.14 or Rs.15 per fortnight and the rate was Rs.2-8 per 1,000 lb. of yarn but now they can earn only between Rs.10 to Rs.12 a fortnight and the rate is Re.0-2-6 per hank. In addition to this, before the depression, piece workers were paid compensation for short work due to less raw material or for the time lost when machines got out of order. No such compensation is paid now and a loss of time means a loss of money to the worker.

In the weaving section the following rates are current :

Number or quality of cloth	Size	Rate	Approximate daily output	Approximate average monthly income	Approximate reduction from 1929
		Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.	Per cent.
Markin ..	32″×28 yards	0 6 0 to 0 6 6	1½ piece	14 0 0 to 15 0 0	30
Do. ..	34″×38 ,, ..	0 7 9	1½ ,, ..	18 0 0	30
Do. ..	36″×38 ,, ..	0 8 3	1½ ,, ..	19 0 0	30
Do. ..	38″×38 ,, ..	0 8 6	1½ ,, ..	20 0 0	30
Do. ..	40″×38 ,, ..	0 9 0	1½ ,, ..	22 0 0	30
Tent markin	40″×40 ,, ..	0 10 3	1½ ,, ..	24 0 0	30
Rifle cloth ..	40″×80 ,, ..	0 11 0	100 yards a day.	21 8 0	30
Turban ..	24″×124 ,, ..	1 11 0	½ piece ..	21 0 0	7
Do. ..	36″×120 ,, ..	1 10 9	½ ,, ..	21 0 0	7
Zeen ..	32″×40 ,, ..	0 11 9	1 ,, ..	18 8 0	7
Do. ..	29″×40 ,, ..	0 11 9	1 ,, ..	18 8 0	7
Dhoties ..					
440 ..	40″×6 pairs of 10 yards each.	0 14 6	5½ pairs ..	21 0 0	20
438 ..	38″×6 pairs of 10 yards each.	0 14 6	5½ ,, ..	21 0 0	20
437½ ..	37½″×6 pairs of 9½ yards each.	0 13 3	6 ,, ..	21 0 0	20
437 ..	37″×6 pairs of 9 yards each.	0 12 9	6 ,, ..	20 0 0	20
433 ..	33″×6 pairs of 8 yards each.	0 13 0	6 ,, ..	20 8 0	20

In addition bonuses were paid in 1929 to the workers according to the wages earned during the year and the month. In the case of double loom workers the fortnightly rate of bonus on their wages was—

Two annas per rupee of 12½ per cent. if the wages was up to Rs.9.

Three annas per rupee or 18¾ per cent. if the wages was up to Rs.9 or more.

In the case of single loom workers the fortnightly rate was :—

One anna per rupee or 6¼ per cent. if the wage earned was up to Rs.6.

Two annas per rupee or 12½ per cent. if the wage earned was between Rs. 6 or Rs.7-8.

Three annas per rupee or 18¾ per cent. if the wage earned was over Rs.7-8.

The annual bonus was stopped in 1930 and in 1934 the monthly bonus was taken off. The worker gets only his wages. The total reduction in earnings of the workers in 1935 is 18¾ per cent. (bonus) plus an average reduction between 20 and 30 per cent., or say a reduction of about 40 per cent.

Wages in B Mills in 1929—We now proceed to an examination of the rates of wages in the B Mills.

In this factory also we find the same four department, i.e. the carding and blowing, the mule, the throstle and the weaving. The workers in the carding and blowing room were employed on the time wage system and were paid Rs.14 per month in 1929.

In the mule room, operatives on drawing and slaving jobs got an average income of Rs.20 per month, while those working on roving and inter earned about Rs.18 per month. The head mistry in this department got Rs.100 a month while his two assistants were paid at the rate of Rs.50 each per mensem. Unskilled coolies were paid Rs.14 per month and the children employed on opening the bobbins got Rs.12 a month.

In the throstle department the head mistry drew Rs.100 per month and his two assistants were paid a fixed monthly salary of Rs.30 each. The head piecer got Rs.16-4 while his assistant drew between Rs.14-4 and Rs.14-8 per month. Minder boys employed in the department were paid between Rs.12 and Rs.12-8 per mensem. Lastly, coolies were paid at a fixed rate of Rs.15 a month. In this factory also the wages in the weaving department were not uniform.

The following list gives the approximate monthly wages of the workers in the weaving department. In the case of male weavers the rates were fixed according to the width of the cloth woven, for it is the width that determines the quantity of work. More cloth can be produced on a machine with smaller width than on a machine of greater width for the worker in the former case has to devote his attention to a lesser number of needles than in the latter.

Maximum monthly wages in the weaving department

Name of job	Average monthly income Rs.
Grey winders	30
Coloured winders	40
Universal winders	30
Cheese winders	30
Warpers..	40
Drawers	36
Reachers	13
Sizing room	
Sizers	21
Coolies	16
Cloth room	
Workers	15
Finishers	16
Bleachers	16
Coolies	15
Sweepers	13
Fitters and Carpenters	30
Weavers	
Width of the machine—	
28″	22
32″	30
40″	32
45″	36
52″	40
Weavers Mistries	80
Children	10

Over and above these rates a bonus was paid at the following sliding scale on the monthly wages to meet the higher cost of living during the war and to give the workers an incentive to work harder.

Monthly earnings of the workers	Rate of bonus
Rs.10	Anna 1 per rupee of 6¼ per cent.
Rs.12-8 to Rs.15	Annas 2 ditto 12½ do.
Above Rs.15	Annas 3 ditto 18¾ do.

In other mills this bonus was not paid and it was said that this extra amount has been included in the enhanced rate of wages.

Wages in B Mills in 1935—The current rates of wages paid in the B Mills for various jobs in 1935 are as follows:

In the carding department time wages as well as piece wages are paid. The time wage is Rs. 14 a month while piece wage workers earn between Rs.13-8 to Rs.15 per month at the rate of Re.0-2 to Re.0-1-9 per *pai*.

In the mule room those working or roving and inter earn about Rs. 14 a month. The doffer gets Rs. 12 a month while a worker in the blow room gets about Rs. 13-8. In the throstle department a time wage of about Rs. 16 per month was paid in 1929 and the size of bobbin was 13 inches but now a piece rate of annas 8 per 100 lb. of 20S yarn is paid and the size of bobbin is 12 inches. If the bobbins are of smaller size, a larger number of them are fixed to the machine which move quicker resulting in more frequent breakages and conse-

quent stoppages in working. Piece wages with smaller size of bobbin have resulted in less income for the workers.

In the winding department, the following rates are now paid :

Quality	Rate	Approximate daily output	Approximate average monthly income
		lb.	Rs. a. p.
Two twisted threads of 20S coloured winding	5 pies per lb. ..	35	22 12 0
Two twisted threads of 30S coloured winding	6 ditto ..	30	23 8 0
Two twisted threads of 42S coloured winding	9 ditto ..	25	29 5 0

Coolies Rs. 13 to Rs. 16 a month time wage.
Sweeper Rs. 12 a month time wage.
Fitter Rs. 20 to Rs. 25 a month time wage.

In the bleaching, finishing and sizing departments the time wages are Rs. 14, Rs. 15 to Rs. 16 and Rs. 20, respectively.

In the weaving department, the following rates of wages are paid to the weavers of cloths of different quality and size :

Number or quality of cloth	Size	Counts	Rate	Unit	Approximate average monthly wage	Old rates before 1930	
						Counts	Rate
			Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.
Markin no. 8100 ..	35″×24 yards	20S.	0 4 9	Per piece.	14 12 0	20S.	0 6 0
Ditto 7100 ..	Ditto ..	20S.	0 4 3	Do.	13 2 0	20S.	0 5 6
Ditto 35008½ ..	35″×35 yards	20S.	0 4 9	Do.	14 12 0	20S.	0 5 0
Ditto 35000 ..	Ditto ..	20S.	0 3 6	Do.	10 13 0	20S.	0 5 0
Ditto 36033 ..	33″×40 yards	20S.	0 5 6	Do.	17 0 0	20S.	0 8 0
Ditto 40031 ..	Ditto ..	20S.	0 5 0	Do.	15 8 0		0 7 0
Khaddar no. 32034 ..	38″×24 yards		0 4 0	Do.	12 8 0		0 4 6
Ditto 372 ..	Ditto ..		0 3 3	Do.	10 0 0		0 4 6
Dhotis ..	34″×9 yards	30S.	0 1 6	Per pair.	12 0 0 (6 pairs per day.)	26S.	0 1 9
Do. 9200 ..	44″×10 yards	30S.	0 2 0	Do.	18 12 0	26S.	0 3 6
Do. Coarse ..	Ditto ..		0 2 0	Do.	18 12 0	26S.	0 3 6
Do. Fine ..	Ditto ..		0 1 6	Do.	12 0 0	26S.	0 1 9
Do. Simple broad border.	Ditto ..		0 2 0	Do.	18 12 0	26S.	0 3 6
Dhotis flower border	Ditto ..		0 2 9	Do.	25 0 0	26S.	0 3 6
Zeen striped ..	A piece of 24 yards.		0 3 0	Per piece.	14 0 0	..	..

Number of quality of cloth	Size	Rate		Approximate average monthly wage	Old rates before 1930
		Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Zeen striped ..	A piece of 40 yards.	0 9 0	Per piece.	14 0 0	
Zeen no. 403 (Govt.)	33″ × 40 yards	0 9 0	Do.	14 0 0	0 10 0
Linen	Ditto ..	0 4 0	Do.	10 0 0	0 6 0
Longcloth ..	45″ ..	8 0 8	Per lb.	..	..
Towels	1¼ yards ..	0 2 6	Per dozen.	..	0 3 0

Comparison between Mills—The following table compares the approximate wages, on a few jobs, in A and B Mills in the same year :

Jobs	1929		1935	
	A Mill	B Mill	A Mill	B Mill
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Carding and Blowing department				
Time wages for a coolie	16 14 0	14 0 0	..	..
Mule department				
Sweeper	15 13 0	14 0 0	..	..
Head piecer	23 0 0	16 4 0	..	..
Assistant piecer	18 0 0	14 8 0	..	..
Mistry	53 0 0	50 0 0	..	..
Throstle department				
Coolie	13 0 0	15 0 0	..	..
Mistries	51 0 0	30 0 0	..	..
Weaving department				
Weaver	25 11 3	23 12 0	20 6 6	17 8 0

The table shows the difference in wages in the same year for the same job in different mills situated in the same area. As most of the workers are piece wage earners, it is quite probable that the difference may be due to the relative efficiency of the workers in these mills. Variations in the rate of wages can be explained by the type of machines used and their relative productive efficiency. There can be a third reason, namely, that a low rate of wages might be compensated by a bonus or other form of indirect remuneration. On the whole, but for

minor variations, due to the above reasons, the wages paid in different mills are, more or less, standard.

Broadly speaking, the workers in the textile industry can be divided under the following heads in proportion to the wages they earn :

*Under Rs.*15—Doffers, sweepers, boys, pressmen, coolies and women (the last three sets of workers are drawn from the cotton, ginning and pressing establishments).

Rs. 15 *and under Rs.* 20—Openers and scutchers, bobbin carriers, minders, piecers[1], folders, stampers, bundlers, balers, dyeing men, mochies.

*Rs.*20 (concld.)—Reelers, coalmen. hammermen, mochies, gatemen, coolies, firemen and palledars.

*Rs.*20 *and under Rs.*25—Piecers[2], male reelers, firemen.

*Rs.*20 *and under Rs.*30—Winders, sizers and pressmen.

*Rs.*30 *and under* 35—Drawing, frame tenters, slubbing, inter and roving tenters, beamers or warpers.

*Rs.*35 *and under Rs.*40—Minders[3], drawers or healders, weavers, turners, firemen, switch-board attendants.

*Rs.*40 *and under Rs.*60—Line mistries[4] and electricians.

Comparison between wages in 1929 *and* 1935—The monthly wages in the carding and the blowing room in the textile industry vary from Rs.12 to Rs.15 in 1935 giving a reduction of Rs.16 2/3 per cent. from 1929.

In the mule room a sweeper and bobbin man now draws a fixed wage of Rs.14 per month, while the winder gets the maximum wage among the workers of the department, i.e. Rs.32. The doffer gets the lowest pay, viz., Rs.12 a month. The piecers earns between Rs.20 to Rs.25. Taken as a whole, there has been a reduction of 20 per cent. in wages since 1929 in this department. In the throstle department the time wage has been replaced by a piece wage. The effect has been a reduction in the wages from Rs.16 to Rs.14. In the winding department the winders earn between Rs.22 and Rs.30 a month on piece rates while time workers are paid between Rs.12 to Rs.16.

In the bleaching, finishing and sizing departments wages vary between Rs.14 and Rs.20.

In the weaving department the minimum and the maximum wages are Rs.10 and Rs.25 but a large majority earn between Rs.14 and Rs. 21. In 1929, the majority of weavers earned between Rs.20 and Rs.25. Roughly speaking, there has been a reduction of about 30 per cent. in the weaver's wage.

A study of the movement of wages in the cotton industry from year to year will be interesting. The figures for the earlier years are

1 Belonging to the spinning department but employed on rings.
2 Belonging to the spinning department but employed on mules.
3. Belonging to the spinning department but employed on mules.
4 Excepting those employed in the weaving department.

taken mainly from "Prices and Wages in India" and those for 1922-28 from the reports of the Chief Inspector of Factories. Figures for 1929 to 1935 have been interpolated on the basis of personal investigation from which only the relative proportions from year to year have been taken and applied to the figures given by the Chief Factory Inspector. On this basis the movement of wages and wage indices, for the jobs which are quoted, have been calculated and compared to the cost of living indices in these years :

Since the cost of living indices were weighted on the strength of numbers in different economic groups, it would be necessary for proper comparison to allot weights to the respective classes of labourers on the strength of numbers in each class in a mill. It has been estimated that the proportions of weavers, spinners and coolies (unskilled) in a cotton mill are 2, 7, and 1. These weights were applied to wage indices and weighted wage indices were calculated and compared to cost of living indices.

The following table shows the movement of wage indices and cost of living indices from 1914 to 1935 :

Year	Wage indices			Weighted wage indices	Weighted cost of living indices	Excess or deficit of wage indices over cost of living indices
	Weavers	Spinners	Coolies			
Average 1909—13 ..	100	100	100	100	100	..
1914 ..	130	135	141	135	125	10
1915 ..	135	135	141	136	132	4
1916 ..	156	112	125	122	128	6
1917 ..	198	147	145	157	132	25
1918 ..	245	152	145	170	157	13
1919 ..	260	167	203	189	206	17
1920 ..	333	179	250	217	204	13
1921 ..	333	179	266	219	209	10
1922 ..	375	179	266	227	194	33
1923 ..	323	167	250	207	168	39
1924 ..	323	186	250	220	166	54
1925 ..	344	186	234	222	179	43
1926 ..	323	186	266	221	184	37
1927 ..	344	167	219	208	202	6
1928 ..	344	160	234	204	197	7
1929 ..	344	160	234	204	200	4
1930 ..	344	160	234	204	173	31
1931 ..	266	140	217	173	149	24
1932 ..	266	140	217	173	145	28
1933 ..	266	140	217	173	137	36
1934 ..	266	140	217	173	131	42
1935 ..	266	140	217	173	141	32

It will be seen that the wage indices for weavers and unskilled coolies were higher than the cost of living indices in various years. The wages for spinners lagged behind for five years immediately following the war when the cost of living had risen to its maximum. In 1924, 1925, and 1926 the wage indices for this class were higher than the cost of living indices which now showed a tendency to come down From 1927 to 1935 the wage indices for spinners were usually below the cost of living indices.

The high wage index in the case of weavers is due to an improvement in industrial efficiency. Before the Great War (our base period for this inquiry) most of the weavers were working on single looms, but after the war nearly all mills have a double loom system (one mill has four looms to each weaver). With an increase in the loomage the piece rate of wages has, no doubt, been reduced but even then the increased output means a little more income to the worker. Secondly, single loom wages in pre-war days have put the base figure at a lower level and hence the index numbers in subsequent years are high.

Comparison with weighed wage indices shows that up to 1916 the wages and cost of living did not show great variations. In 1917, due to war profits and a tendency for the prices of commodities to rise there was an increase in wages to meet the increased cost of living. Three years after, in 1920 and 1921 prices reached their maximum and necessitated a general rise in all wages, which was given. Since then wages and cost of living both declined, the former at a slower pace than the latter. Since 1929 there was a steep fall in the cost of living index year after year as the depression deepened and during this period the total fall was 59 points. Wages also fell during this period and in the case of weavers the fall was by 78 points while spinners and unskilled coolies suffered a fall in their wages by 20 and 17 points respectively. The weighted fall in this period was 31 points.

It is thus clear that compared to pre-war years, wages have risen considerably; while the fall in wages since 1929 has been less than the decrease in the cost of living index and to that extent the workers are better off. These figures are however not an index of the sufficiency of wages and for this a comparison with the minimum living wages necessary will be useful.

The leather industry

The classification of the workers in the leather industry is based upon the jobs. The important jobs are mistries or foremen, fitters, carpenters, machine operatives, accoutrement makers, saddlers, saddlers' assistants, work distributors, belt makers, cutters, curriers, storemen, tanners and messengers. As to the system of payment of wages, the industry has both piece wage and time wage systems. Mistries, fitters, carpenters, work distributors, storemen and messen-

gers are paid fixed monthly wages, while the rest have a piece wage system and their wages differ according to the quantity of work done. The average monthly amount of wages of the workers is given below and represents the approximate wage that an average worker can earn working for the full day and for all the working days of the month, if he is not fined or absent.

The following table gives the monthly wages, in rupees, of the permanent established at the Army Boot Factory, Cawnpore, for the period from 1896 to 1922 according to the classification given before :

Monthly wages in rupees of the permanent establishment at Army Boot Factory, Cawnpore

In January of—	Mistries or foremen	Fitters and carpenters	Machine operatives	Accoutrement makers	Saddlers	Saddlers' assistants	Work distributors	Belt makers	Cutters	Curriers	Storemen	Tanners	Messengers
1896 ..	30	12	16	14	13	8	7	6·48	6·12	7	6·26	5·17	5·04
1897 ..	30	12	16·45	14	13	8	7	6·48	6·12	7	6·26	5·52	5·33
1898 ..	30	13	17	15	14	8	7	7	7	7	6·26	6	5·4
1899 ..	30	13	17	15	14	8	7	7	7	7	6·26	6	5·4
1900 ..	30	13	17	15	14	8	7	7	7·5	7·5	6·26	6·5	6
1901 ..	31	14	18	15	14·8	8·8	8	8	8	7·5	6·5	7	6
1902 ..	31	15	19	16	15	8·8	8	8	8	8	6·8	7·8	6
1903 ..	31·1	15·9	19·1	16·15	15·5	8·3	8	8·2	8·7	9	6·5	7·6	6
1904 ..	31	16·2	19·2	16·3	15·5	1·5	8·1	8·2	8·5	9	6·5	7·5	6
1905 ..	31	16·2	19·5	16·5	16	8·9	8·5	8·5	9	9	6·6	7·5	6
1906 ..	31	16·2	19·5	16·5	16·1	9	8·5	8	9·1	9	6·9	7·5	6
1907 ..	31	16·2	19·4	16·5	16·7	9	8·9	8·7	9	8·9	6·9	7·4	6
1908 ..	30	16·3	19·5	16·5	17	9·2	9	8·7	9	9	7	7·5	6·5
1909 ..	30	16·1	19	16	17	9·4	9	8·7	8·14	9	7	7·8	6·5
1910 ..	30	16·5	19	16·1	16	10	9	9	9	9	7	7·9	6·5
1911 ..	30	16·3	19·2	15·8	18	10·1	9	9·2	9·4	9	7	8	7
1912 ..	30	16·5	19·4	16·5	21	10·3	9	9·4	9·6	9	7	8	7
1913 ..	30	16·9	19·5	16·8	23	10·5	9·2	9·5	9·6	9·2	7	8	7
1914 ..	30	17	21	17	25	12	9·5	9·5	10	9·5	7	8	7
1915 ..	31	17·5	22	17·5	26	12·5	10	10	10·88	10·3	7·5	8·8	7
1916 ..	31	17·8	24	18	26·1	12·7	10	10·5	10·8	10·3	7·5	8·8	7
1917 ..	31	18·4	24	19	26·1	12·7	10	10·5	10·8	10·3	7·5	8·8	7
1918 ..	31·5	19	25	21	27	13	10·5	11	11	11	8	9·8	8
1919 ..	32	20	25·3	22	27·5	13·4	11	11·1	12	12	9	10	8
1920 ..	40	25	31·6	27·8	34	16·2	13·7	13·7	15	15	11·25	12·5	10
1921 ..	41	25	32	28	34·5	17	14	14	16	16	12	14	12
1922 ..	41	25·3	32	27*	34·9	17·3	14·1	14·3	15·3*	15·3*	12	13·7*	12

The rates in the table are obtained by dividing the actual amount of wages paid to each class of labour in the month by the number of men employed in the different departments.

* This fall is due to the present trade slump.

As to the wages for the years 1923 to 1927 in this industry, no figures are available and the Factory Inspector's report is silent on this point.

Wages in 1929—Investigations were carried out into the rates of of wages in a leather factory at Cawnpore. The figures were collected separately for various jobs in the different departments.

In the hides godown a fixed monthly wage was allowed and the wages were Rs.20 per month.

In the tanning room we found a piece wage system and the monthly wages averaged about Rs.20 to Rs.22.

In the currier shop a piece wage system was followed and on getting a full day's work the average monthly wage of the workers employed on smoothening leather came to Rs.12 to Rs.14. There was another class of workers in this department employed on colouring the tanned leather getting the same wages as their fellow workers employed on the smoothening work.

In the sole cutting department we notice the piece wage system. The new worker earned about Rs.15 to Rs.16 a month while the earnings of the older and experienced men came to about Rs.22 to Rs.25, in general and in special cases the wages went up as high as Rs.30 a month.

In the heel makers department both time as well as piece wage systems prevailed and the monthly earnings of the workers under both the systems came to about Rs.20 to Rs.25.

In the closing department a marked reduction in the average monthly earnings of the workers was noticed. There were three classes of workers in this department—the cutters, the fitters and the closers. The average monthly income of a cutter varied between Rs.25 and Rs. 30; the fitters earned between Rs.20 and Rs.25 a month; and the closers got the same amount as cutters. A comparison of the wages with a period about six to nine months before will show the extent of the reduction in the total monthly earnings of the workers in this department. The cutters and the closers now getting from Rs.25 to Rs. 30 a month earned about Rs.40 to Rs.60 per month and the fitters now getting about Rs.20 to Rs.25 per month got Rs.30 to 40 a month six months before. This reduction is due to a cut in the rates and the paucity of a full day's work throughout the year.

We now come to the making department. Here children as well as adult workers and time and piece wage earners were found to work side by side. In this department there were four classes of labour, viz. lasters, solesmen, chainers and screwmen. Children were paid at a fixed monthly rate of Rs.8. Lasters were again divided into four classes:

(i) Workers, who put the soles on the frames, got about Rs.40 to Rs.44 per month;

(ii) Superior nailers, who join the soles and the uppers by nails, earned about Rs.40 to Rs.45 a month;

(iii) Junior nailers, whose duty is to attach only two or three nails between the sole and the upper, got from Rs.15 to Rs.18 a month; and

(iv) Machine lasters whose duty is to fasten the uppers to the soles by the aid of the machine, earned between Rs.40 and Rs.50 a month.

These workers work faster than the three classes mentioned above who work by hand.

The second type of workers in this department were solesmen whose monthly wages averaged between Rs.24 and Rs.30.

The chainers got about Rs. 30 while the screwmen earned between Rs.35 and Rs.40 a month.

In the finishing department, makers of ordinary shoes for the Army earned about Rs.30 to Rs.32 a month whereas the makers of fine leather goods earned from Rs.36 to Rs.40 per month. Heel fitters got between Rs.24 and Rs.28 whereas the leather smoothers and dyers earned from Rs.16 to Rs. 20 a month. Lastly, the brushers received their monthly wages between Rs.36 and Rs.40.

In the department where saddles are prepared the work was done on a contract basis.

Contracts had been given to *thekadars* to get saddles prepared for the factory at a rate of Rs.8 per saddle. One saddle prepared by a worker, without the help of any other worker required eight days' labour. Though the workers received their wages from the *thekadars* they had to work within the factory. Out of Rs.8 per saddle prepared in eight days, the actual worker got something between Rs.9 or Rs.10 per month. These workers are employed by the contractors.

In the sewing department, the worker sewing the full sleeper uppers got 2 pies per pair of sleepers sewn. The average number of sleeper pairs that could be sewn in a day was about one hundred. Thus their daily earnings came to about Re.1 per day or Rs.26 a month. In this section of the sewing department there had been a reduction in the rates for sewing from $4\frac{1}{2}$ pies in 1928 to 2 pies in 1929 per pair of sleepers sewn.

The rates for B2 sewing was 9 pies per 25 pairs and the average daily output was about 300 pairs, giving a monthly wage of about Rs. 14-10. The rate for sewing *Desi Juties* was annas 3 for 25 complete pairs and the average number of pairs sewn in a day was 125. Thus the monthly wage came to Rs.24-6.

Lastly, the rate for sewing the upper edges of a Derby shoe known as *addi* was pies 2 per pair, giving a monthly wage of Rs. 26.

A notable feature of this department was that the workers had to pay out of their wages the cost of the thread and needles used by them. The investigation revealed that about Re.0-1-3 per day was spent on thread and Re.0-1-6 for needles. The breakage of needles was not uncommon and one to two needles a day was the usual breakage. Thus about annas 4 per day were deducted from the wages of the worker in an indirect way.

In the Engineering department mistries were paid a fixed salary of Rs.50 to Rs.60 per month. As for the fitters there were four grades. Apprentice fitters were paid Rs.10; new appointments were made on Rs.12; ordinary fitters, working in the factory, drew from Rs.30 to Rs.35 and the eldest fitters got as much as Rs.50 per month.

Lastly we come to the coolies and unskilled labourers. Mistries for coolies were paid Rs.40 per month and the coolies were paid a fixed monthly wage of Rs.18.

Female labour was employed in nearly all the departments of the industry but for the closing, the finishing and the making departments the rates for female labourers were low and their earnings came to about Rs.10 per month. Children were also employed and were paid from Rs.6 to Rs.8 a month.

Wages in 1935 : In the hide godown a time wage of annas 5 to annas 6 per day or about Rs.9 per month is paid. In the tanning room wages are calculated on the piece wages system and the average monthly income comes to about Rs.16.

In the currier shop the piece wages per month of the machine man for smoothening the leather average to about Rs.16 to Rs.18 a month.

In the sole cutting department the present piece rate is annas 9 per 100 hides cut. The average number of hides cut in a day is 125 which give to the workers about Re.0-11-3 a day or Rs.17 to Rs.18 a month.

In the closing department the upper-makers are paid annas 14 per 100 pairs of shoes prepared, the average daily output per man being 100 pairs. Out of this they have to pay the cost of nails used by them. It has been calculated that nails weighing one lb. cost annas 8 and are sufficient for 700 pairs of shoes. Thus their cost is about 14 pies per 100 pairs. The actual rate therefore comes to Re.0-12-10 per 100 pairs and this is their daily earning. The time wage for upper-closers is annas 11 per day. The following rates are paid to other workers :

	Rs.	Rs.
The cutters	..	20 to 25 per mensem.
Upper-closers	..	20 to 22 ditto.
Machine sewing	..	30 per mensem.
Machine upper-fitters	..	40 to 45 per mensem.
Upper-fitters—B5 military boots	..	20 per mensem.

In making department, the screwmen get annas 8 per 100 pairs of shoes prepared. Solesmen are paid annas 6 per 100 pairs of shoes. In this process about 22 workers have to work together. Their total daily output is 2,000 pairs. Hence Rs.7-8 per day is divided among 22 men the average daily income of each being about Re.0-5.6. In the lasting department the wages differ with the quality of work and the following rates are paid :

Machine workers	Rs. a. p.	Average daily income Rs. a. Rs. a.
Sleepers	2 0 0 per 100 pairs	1 4 to 1 8
Derby shoes	2 2 0 ,, 100 ,,	
B5 military boots ..	2 5 6 ,, 100 ,,	
Half sleepers	1 8 0 ,, 100 ,,	

Hand workers	Rs. a. p.	Daily output Rs. a.
Sleepers	0 1 6 per pair.	10 pairs .. 0 15
Derby	0 2 0 ,, ,,	10 ,, .. 1 4
B5 military boots ..	12 8 0 ,, 100 pairs.	10 pairs 1 4

In the colouring godown a piece rate of Re.0-3-6 per tank containing 100 hides is paid. In the finishing department, the piece rates vary between annas 10 and Re.1 per 100 pairs of shoes finished. The average output per worker is 200 pairs a day and he earns between Re.1-4 to Rs.2. In the clearing department, there is a time wage of annas 12 per day.

In the machine shop, fitters get a fixed wage of Re.1-4 to Re.1-6 per day. In making and rounding, a piece wage of annas 10 and annas 7 per 100 pairs of shoes is respectively paid and the average daily output is 200 pairs of shoes.

Females and children get annas 5 and Re.0-2-6 per day.

Comparison of wages between 1929 *and* 1935—The following table shows the grades of income and the number of jobs the workers of which earn an income falling under the various grades.

Grades of monthly income in rupees	Number of jobs	
	1929	1935
Rs. a. Rs.		
10 0 to 15	6	3
15 1 to 20	6	5
20 1 to 25	7	5
25 1 to 30	6	..
30 1 to 35	2	3
35 1 to 40	3	1
40 1 to 45	4	1
45 1 to 50	1	..
50 1 to 60	1	..

Looking at the table, we find that of the 34 jobs, about 25 jobs or 73·5 per cent. of the jobs yielded in 1929 an income below Rs.30 a month.

It is only on nine jobs that the workers earned between Rs30 and Rs.45 per month. We have left out of our consideration the wages of mistries which came between Rs.45 and Rs.50 and Rs.50 to Rs.60 a month as shown in the above table. Of the workers employed on 73·5 per cent. of the jobs in the industry the largest number of jobs yielded an income between Rs.20-1 and Rs.25 per month, whereas the three grades, i.e. Rs.10 to Rs.15, Rs.15-1 to Rs.20, and Rs.25-1 to Rs.30 a month had an equal number of six jobs each. In other words, out of the jobs yielding a monthly income below Rs.30, it was only 24 per cent. of the jobs that yielded an income between Rs.25-1 to Rs.30 a month, while 28 per cent. of the jobs yielded only between Rs.20-1 to Rs.25 and the remaining two grades of Rs.10 to Rs.15 and Rs.15-1 to Rs.20 each contained the wages of 24 per cent. of the jobs.

To sum up, the highest and the lowest monthly wages of a worker in this industry were between Rs.40 and Rs.45 and Rs. 10 to Rs. 15.

In 1935, unskilled labourers were paid between Rs.9 and Rs.13 a month. The semi-skilled labourers working in hide godowns, tanning rooms, currier shop, sole cutting, closing and making departments, colouring godown, and machine shop earned between Rs.14 and Rs.18 a month. The skilled labourer got between Rs.20 and Rs.25. The mistries and the fitters got between Rs.40 and Rs.50 a month. Leaving the mistries and the fitters, who do not number more than a dozen, or so in the whole establishment, the majority of them earned between Rs.9 and Rs.13, Rs.14 and Rs.18 and Rs.20 and Rs.25. The unskilled labourers number between 17 to 20 per cent. of the total number of labourers working in the mill. The semi-skilled and the skilled labourers were more or less equal. Thus about 20 per cent. of the workers earn between Rs.9 and Rs.13. Another 40 per cent. got between Rs.14 and Rs.18 and the rest between Rs.20 and Rs.25 a month. Thus between 1929 and 1935 there had been a reduction of about 12½ per cent. for unskilled labourers, about 25 and 30 per cent. for semi-skilled labourers and about 40 per cent. for skilled labourers.

The woollen industry

The workers in the woollen industry are, in the first instance, classed into skilled and unskilled workers. Among the skilled workers we notice a division into five main departments according to the processes in the industry. These departments are the card room, the mule room, the finishing department, the weaving department and the engineering department. A further classification is resorted to within these five departments. The card room contains the head mistries, the feeders, the mixers, the card cleaners and the sparehands; the mule room con-

sists of the head mistries, the minders, the piecers and the sparehands; the finishing department has the washing and the cleaching mistries; the washing and the bleaching men, the dyeing mistries, the dyers, the finishing mistries and the finishing men; the classification in the weaving department is between the mistry, the healder and the weaver; and lastly in the engineering department we find the boiler mistries, the engine men, the oil men, the head carpenters, the boiler men, the carpenters, the blacksmiths, the fitters, the turners, the tinsmiths, the moulders and the mochies.

The system of payment for the unskilled labourers, the mistries, the sparehands, and the workers of the engineering department is by fixed monthly wages, while payments are made on the piece wages system in the card room, the mule room, the finishing and the weaving departments, excepting in the case of those workers of these departments that have already been enumerated as fixed wage earners.

The following table gives the amount of average monthly wages, in rupees, for the period between 1896 and 1922.

Monthly wages (in rupees) in a Woollen Mill

In January of	Unskilled labourers	Card room					Mule room			
		Head mistry	Feeder	Mixer	Card cleaner	Sparehands	Head mistry	Minder	Piecer	Sparehands
1896 ..	4·87	35·84	5·33	5·8	7·62	5·55	35·22	6·47	4·19	5·42
1897 ..	4·87	32·11	5·26	5·51	7·65	5·49	33·8	6·36	4·17	5·41
1898 ..	4·87	33·95	5·16	5·47	7·5	5·59	34·75	6·58	4·12	5·73
1899 ..	5·69	37·4	5·76	5·92	8·31	5·87	37·52	6·84	4·24	5·85
1900 ..	5·69	34·94	5·92	6·19	8·72	5·93	33·96	6·22	4·36	6·05
1901 ..	5·69	35·97	6·19	6·51	9·22	6·17	34·72	6·85	4·53	6·25
1902 ..	5·69	39·41	6·06	6·2	10·66	6·35	39·47	7·31	4·95	6·33
1903 ..	6·09	33	6·37	6·81	8·84	6·58	36·42	7·12	5·69	6·5
1904 ..	6·09	35·41	7	7·19	9·48	7·7	39	8·77	6·11	7·41
1905 ..	6·09	35·27	7·16	7·59	9·39	7·05	38·64	8·95	6·16	6·96
1906 ..	6·09	38·41	7·03	7·02	10·92	7·02	42·34	8·64	5·99	7·06
1907 ..	6·09	37·11	7·24	7·5	10·56	7·12	38·79	8·42	5·92	6·98
1908 ..	6·09	39·84	6·99	7·14	11·34	6·95	43·73	10·82	5·95	6·8
1909 ..	6·5	36·38	7·39	7·8	10·5	7·29	40·4	9·63	6·29	6·8
1910 ..	6·5	37·92	7·36	7·52	10·8	7·28	41·53	9·24	6·17	6·8
1911 ..	7·11	35·2	7·44	7·52	11·13	7·57	38·13	8·86	6·06	7·3
1912 ..	7·03	39·18	7·59	7·64	12·13	1·53	44·44	11·72	6·49	7·04
1913 ..	8·51	41·37	8·72	8·97	13·08	8·92	49·88	14·38	7·54	8·43
1914 ..	8·12	43·2	9·46	9·2	15·04	9·38	50·84	16·56	8·15	9·49
1915 ..	9·15	57·19	12·64	10·27	18·35	9·53	60·41	20·86	8·84	9·75
1916 ..	7·07	29·75	9·27	9·55	18·92	9·44	65·02	16·75	9·47	9·47
1917 ..	8·67	40·18	9·85	9·52	20·56	9·51	75·45	16·73	8·58	9·51
1918 ..	8·65	48·56	9·24	9·75	22·82	9·67	81·83	17·31	8·07	9·47
1919 ..	10·61	44·89	10·43	9·49	18·96	9·85	70·2	15·19	7·61	9·02
1920 ..	12·05	50	13·63	14·42	21·5	14·04	70·5	19·3	11·32	14·04
1921 ..	13·88	76	14·38	14·45	29	14·5	91	26·03	12·87	14·85
1922 ..	13·27	75·5	14	14·68	30·5	14·53	92	27·54	11·2	14·39

Monthly wages (in rupees) in a Woollen Mill—(continued)

In January of	Finishing Department						Weaving Department		
	Washing and bleaching mistry	Washing and bleaching man	Dyeing mistry	Dyer	Finishing mistry	Finishing man	Mistry	Healder	Weaver
1896	16·27	6·14	12·23	5·55	19·81	6·02	20·06	7·03	9·08
1897	16·31	6·15	12·23	5·59	19·41	6·37	19·8	7·5	9·59
1898	18·98	5·72	8·44	5·6	20·25	6·15	21·31	7·12	9·89
1899	18·69	5·82	9·75	5·54	19·91	6·06	23·66	9·5	10·41
1900	18·69	6·04	9·14	5·55	19·91	6·04	18·81	7·56	8·62
1901	19·09	5·98	9·95	5·44	20·31	6·23	22·45	8·12	8·87
1902	20·31	6·32	11·78	5·89	20·72	6·37	23·87	8·08	10·3
1903	21·25	6·7	13	6·08	21·12	6·58	17·81	7·09	9·14
1904	21·12	6·69	14·62	6·37	21·94	6·73	21·37	10	9·91
1905	21·84	6·92	14·62	6·45	22·75	7·01	21·16	9	10·08
1906	24·37	7·16	14·62	6·34	24·37	7·34	24·97	11·58	10·31
1907	25·19	7·37	14·62	6·37	26	7·53	24	7·25	10·45
1908	25·19	7·13	14·63	6·6	26	7·52	25·75	7·5	11·14
1909	23·16	6·89	14·63	6·77	28·44	8·69	25·2	7·92	11·38
1910	15·44	7·03	14·62	6·9	28·44	7·65	23·31	8·81	11·44
1911	17·47	7·2	16·25	6·9	28·44	8·05	23·31	8·66	11·78
1912	17·47	7·42	17·87	6·98	30·06	8·23	23·98	8·56	11·72
1913	18·69	8·7	18·69	9·14	30·87	8·87	24·25	10·62	13·31
1914	18·69	9·11	19·5	9·72	30·87	8·9	25·31	10·23	13·34
1915	19·5	9·89	19·5	9·36	39·87	9·51	26·42	10·48	14·02
1916	22·34	8·94	19·5	9·86	31·69	9·48	26·62	10·56	14·19
1917	25·59	9·34	19·5	9·77	34·12	9·62	28·67	12·27	14·58
1918	27·62	9·51	19·5	10·03	35·75	9·58	32	11·36	15·45
1919	30·06	9·43	19·5	9·75	40·62	9·07	28	12·6	15·51
1920	36·56	14·37	26	15·11	45·5	15·86	32	14·94	21·37
1921	43·06	14·98	32·78	17·49	52	16·28	57·64	23·79	26·16
1922	43·06	14·86	34·69	16·19	52	15·81	(*b*)49·8	22·2	28·17

Monthly wages (in rupees) in a Woollen Mill—(concluded)

In January of	Engineering Department											
	Boiler mistry	Engine man	Oilman	Head carpenter	Boiler man	Carpenter	Blacksmith	Fitter	Turner	Tin smith	Moulder	Mochi
1896 ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1897 ..	8·64	13·28	6·33	21·09	7·17	10·79	13·5	10·43	14·06	12·27	..	8·96
1898 ..	8·44	10·97	6·33	21·09	7·17	10·99	13·54	10·49	14·06	12·66	..	8·7
1899 ..	8·13	10·36	6·21	20·31	6·91	11·04	15·44	9·71	13·54	12·19	..	8·38
1900 ..	9·34	10·76	6·21	20·31	6·91	11·1	13·81	11·	13·5	12·19	..	8·38
1901 ..	9·34	10·76	6·21	20·31	6·91	11·51	14·22	12·06	14·08	12·19	..	8·41
1902 ..	10·16	14·62	6·84	18·69	7·31	12·08	15·03	13·15	15·17	12·73	..	8·44
1903 ..	10·16	14·62	6·64	18·69	7·31	11·67	15·84	13·98	16·84	12·39	..	8·33
1904 ..	11·37	17·87	7·31	21·94	8·12	12·12	16·66	14·59	17·47	12·19	..	8·3
1905 ..	11·37	17·87	7·31	21·94	8·2	12·46	17·33	14·3	18·15	12·19	..	8·97
1906 ..	13	19·5	7·84	24·37	8·6	13·45	18·69	14·77	19·23	12·73	..	8·94
1907 ..	13	19·5	7·81	24·37	8·6	13·45	17·6	14·32	18·69	12·73	..	8·94
1908 ..	13·81	17·06	7·97	26·	8·34	13·14	20·85	13·81	23·29	13·54	..	9·08
1909 ..	13·81	19·5	8·69	26·	8·36	13·63	21·94	14·18	21·94	13·5	..	9·34
1910 ..	13·81	19·5	7·97	27·62	8·31	12·4	23·42	13·81	21·94	13·54	..	9·21
1911 ..	13·81	21·94	8·16	29·25	8·86	13·23	23·41	12·5	20·3	12·45	..	9·22
1912 ..	13	19·5	8·45	35·75	8·61	13·72	22·48	13·69	17·33	13·41	..	9·11
1913 ..	13	13	8·6	37·37	9·86	13·81	21·73	15·87	21·45	13	..	9·15
1914 ..	16·25	26	8·12	39	9·8	15·96	23·02	18·25	22·2	14·98	..	9·31
1915 ..	17·87	35·75	10·15	45·5	11·78	16·25	23·56	21·25	22·85	16·71	..	10·66
1916 ..	20·31	31·69	9·17	53·62	12·07	14·62	24·75	19·48	23·97	16·19	..	10·28
1917 ..	23·97	35·75	10·07	56·87	12·46	16·89	25·9	24·66	24·7	18·89	..	11·84
1918 ..	24·78	35·75	10·2	56·87	12·12	16·53	24·78	19·92	25·19	15·98	19·5	11·19
1919 ..	25·19	39	18·19	60·94	14·81	16·8	26·47	20·77	27·25	18·65	..	11·11
1920 ..	35 75	47·12	15·44	71·5	20·31	21·94	28·44	23·56	28·44	20·31	..	18·28
1921 ..	40·62	52	17·06	78	21·75	21·94	30·06	25·19	32·5	20·31	..	18·28
1922 ..	41·67	65·25	16·39	86·12	21·53	23·56	33·27	27·39	34·62	21·89	..	17·67

The average wages per month (in rupees) for the workers in the woollen industry from 1909 to 1935 were as follows:

Year	Black-smith	Fitter	Car-penter	Engine driver	Boiler man
1909*	15	12	11	9·5	7·5
1910	15	12	11	9·6	7·5
1911	18	18	14	12·0	8·0
1912	18	20	15	12·0	8·0
1913*	18	27	17	10·0	10·0
Average	*16·8*	*17·8*	*13·6*	*10·4*	*8·2*
1914	20	34	20	20	16
1915*	20	34	20	22·5	16
1916	19	23	17	22·5	13
1917*	23	26	19	24·0	17
1918	27	29	21	24·0	17
1919	26	32	25	29·0	20
1920	32	36	31	32·0	24
1921	34	39	32	34·0	24
1922	36	38	34	34·0	26
1923	36	38	34	35·0	23
1924	37	42	35	35·0	25
1925	35	44	34	40·0	24
1926	35	42	34	40·0	35
1927	36	42	34	41·0	40
1928	36	41	34	40·0	37
1929*	36	41	34	40·0	37
1930*	36	41	34	40·0	37
1931*	25·2	28·7	23·8	28·0	25·9
1932*	25·2	28·7	23·8	28·0	25·9
1933*	25·2	28·7	23·8	28·0	25·9
1934*	25·2	28·7	23·8	28·0	25·9
1935*	25·2	28·7	23·8	28·0	25·9

Wages in 1929—We now pass on to an examination of the wages in this industry in 1929. The unskilled adult workers of the industry were paid at a fixed rate of annas 8 per day for new recruits and annas 9 per day for old and experienced men. Thus their monthly wages came to Rs.13 and Rs.14-10 respectively. Children were paid at a fixed rate of annas 6 a day, i.e. Rs.9-12 a month, and females were paid annas 7 a day, i.e. Rs.11-6 per month. The wages paid to the skilled workers were examined separately for each department. In the card room the head mistry was paid a fixed salary of Rs.60 per month. The feeders and the mixers were paid a time wage of annas 8 a day, viz. Rs.13 per month. As to the wages of the card cleaners in this department a piece wages system was followed and Rs.2-4 were paid for cleaning a machine each time. Such cleaning of machines was done twice a day and four men worked together in order to clean a machine. Thus the

*Interpolated. No separate wages for weavers, spinners and coolies are quoted for different textile industries. Figures for cotton and woollen weavers, spinners and coolies are, therefore, the same. As they have been discussed in connexion with the cotton industry they have not been repeated here.

average wage of a card cleaner came to about Re.1-2 per day or Rs.29-4 a month.

In the mule room, the head mistry got Rs.2 per day or a fixed monthly wage of Rs.52. The minders were paid on the piece wage system and the rate given was annas 4 per 100 lb. of wool worked. The average daily output of wool in this department came to about 400 lb. giving thereby Re.1 per day or Rs.26 per month to the minders. Each minder had four children working under him. These children were known as piecers and they were paid a fixed daily rate varying between annas 6 to annas 8 per child worker. Thus a piecer earned between Rs.9-12 to Rs.13 a month. The sparehands were paid annas 8 a day.

In the finishing department the washing and bleaching mistry was paid Re.1 to Re.1-4 a day or Rs.26 to Rs.26 to Rs.32-8 a month, while the washing and bleaching man was paid at the rate of anna 1 per *than* (piece) washed and bleached. The average number of *thans* washed and bleached per day came to 8 or 9 giving him a daily wage of annas 8 to annas 9 or Rs.13 to Rs.14-10 per month. The dyeing mistry got Rs.50 per month whereas the dyer was paid at the same rate as the washing and the bleaching man. The finishing mistry was paid between Rs.35 and Rs.40 per month while his workers—the finishing men—got a wage at the rate of annas 8 per day or about Rs.13 a month.

In the weaving department, wages were paid on the piece wage system and according to the quality of the cloth woven. We shall here consider the wages according to the quality and nature of cloth and we first take up the consideration of the wages of the weavers of the woollen mil *lohis*. The following table showns the rates given to the weavers of the *lohis* of different qualities and dimensions as well as the average number of *lohis* woven, per day, and the approximate monthly earnings :

The number of *lohi*	The size of *lohi*	Rate per *lohi*	Average number of *lohis* wover	Average daily wage	Average monthly wage
		Rs. p.		Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
3 ..	3 yds. × 60″	3 0	6	1 2 0	29 4 0
26 ..	3 ,, × 54″	2 6	7	1 1 6	28 7 0
90×45 ..	90 ,, × 45″	2 3	7	0 15 9	25 9 6
224 ..	3 ,, × 54″	2 0	7	0 14 0	22 12 0
60 ..	3 ,, × 60″	4 6	5	1 6 6	36 9 0

The weavers of coating cloth were paid at the rate of anna 1 a yard to Re.0-1-3 per yard of cloth woven and the average number of yards of cloth woven in a day came to 20 while in exceptional cases of old and fast weavers producing ordinary cloth the figure went as high as 25 yards a day. Thus a fast weaver weaving an ordinary quality of cloth remunerated at the rate of anna 1 per yard could earn Rs.40-10 per month whereas the general wages in this section were about Rs.35 a month.

The weavers of a variety of cloth known as *patti* were remunerated at the rate of anna 1 per yard and the average number of yards of cloth woven came to about 22 yielding a monthly income of Rs.38-9-6 to the workers.

In the hosiery department the workers are divided into two classes—the hand-power workers and the steam-power workers. There is yet another classification of the workers based on the quality of the socks. In the class comprising hand-power workers, the rate paid for the finer quality of socks was Re.0-2-4 per pair and the daily output was 8 pairs of socks at the utmost. Thus the maximum monthly wages of this class of hand-power workers came to Rs.30-5. On the other hand the rate for the weavers of coarser socks in this class of hand-power workers was anna 1 per pair and the average output was 16 pairs per day yielding a monthly wage of Rs.26. For the other class, working with the steam-power, the rate for the finer pair of socks was pies 6 per pair and 25 pairs of socks was the general average output per day. Thus the wages for this class of workers came to about Re.0-12-6 a day or Rs.20-5 per month. On the other hand, the weavers of the coarser quality of socks with the aid of steam-power, earned wages at the rate of pies 4 per pair and the total number of pairs of socks woven in a day came to 40. Thus the daily wage came to Re.0-13-4 or the monthly wage to Rs.21-10-9. Mistries in this department were paid anna 1 extra as bounty per 100 pairs of socks woven by the workers besides their usual wages of Re.1-8 a day.

In another section of the weaving department, namely the section for sweaters, wages were given at different rates to the weavers of the various parts of a sweater. Here a differentiation was also noticeable between the wages paid to the workers on the older machine so far used and the workers of the new automatic machine.

The following table shows the comparative rates paid to the workers of the various parts of a sweater on the two types of machines :

Name of the part of sweater	Rate of wages on	
	Older machine	New automatic machine
Body	6 pies	2 pies.
Sleeves (two)	5 ,,	3 ,,
Collars (two)	1½ ,,	¾ ,,
Total wages per sweater (complete) ..	11¾ ,,	5¾ ,,

It will be seen that the rates for the automatic machines had been reduced by about 50 per cent., but this does not necessarily mean a hardship to the workers for the quantity of output per day had also been doubled because of the improvements in the machine.

The average output of sweaters on the older machines is 4 dozen per day whereas on the automatic machine it is 8 dozen a day. As to the actual output of each worker investigations showed that the weavers of body and sleeves produced as many as 4 dozen and 8 dozen bodies and sleeves on the two machines respectively. Therefore their monthly wages respectively came to Rs.39 and Rs.32-8 on the older machine and Rs.26 and Rs.39 on the automatic machine. It would thus appear that as a result of the introduction of the new machine followed by an increase in output and the consequent reduction in the rate of wages, the weavers of body on the new machine suffered, the reduction in their monthly incomes being 33 per cent., whereas the weavers of sleeves gained by 20 per cent.

The weavers of collars remain unaffected. The daily output of collar weavers was about 24 dozen and 48 dozen on older and new machines respectively thus providing them with a monthly wage of Rs.29-4.

It should be mentioned here that in the hosiery and the sweaters departments the workers had to pay for the slides and needles broken in use. For these departments one slide and four needles, costing in all annas 2, were given to the workers and if any needle or slide was broken in use the workers were debited for the loss at the rate of anna 1 per slide and pies 3 per needle and fresh needles were supplied to them only after a charge had been made against them. In the throstle department, the workers were paid both according to the piece wage system as well as the time wage system. Time wage earners were paid at the rate of annas 8 to annas 9 per day whereas the rate for the piece wage earners was Re.0-3-6 per 100 lb. of wool worked. In the latter case the average output was 250 lb. to 300 lb. per day. Thus time wage earners got from Rs.13 to Rs.15 a month and the wages of piece workers came to Rs.14-4 to Rs.17 a month. The assistant mistry was paid Re.1-4 a day or Rs.32-8-4 per month, while the head mistry was paid Rs.3 per day or Rs.78 a month.

In the engineering department the boiler mistry was paid a fixed salary of Rs.40 a month. These mistries were transferred to the permanent establishment list and hence they would not get overtime wages for extra hours of work. The advantage which they enjoyed was that their salaries were not calculated according to the number of working days in the month, but they were brought under the category of clerical staff.

The engineman, the oilman and the boilerman were paid at the rate of annas 8 to annas 12 a day at a fixed rate. The head carpenter got as much as Rs.3 a day whereas his assistants or ordinary carpenters were given annas 10 to Re.1 a day. New recruits were engaged on annas 10 a day but their wages were generally increased until they reached the general level of Re.1 allowed for carpenters other than the mistry.

Blacksmiths were paid between annas 12 to Re.1-4 a day while fitters were paid between Re.1 and Re.1-4. Turners were paid at the

rate of Re.1-4 to Re.1-8 a day. Tinsmiths and mochis were given annas 10 and 8 per day respectively. It may be noted here that all the workers in this department were employed at a fixed daily wage and no piece wage system was followed. The workers when they have to work for extra hours were paid overtime wages which were higher than the ordinary daily wages paid for the work during regular factory hours.

In the cloth godown the coolies were paid at the rate of annas 8 to annas 10 a day whereas mistries were given Re.1 to Re.1-8 a day.

Similarly in the packing godown mistries were paid Re.1 per day, whereas the packers earned between annas 8 to annas 10 a day. The markers in this department got about annas 9 per day.

In the retail shop the unskilled workers were given annas 8 a day and the mistries' daily remuneration in the shop was annas 12.

In this industry, female labour was employed only in the wool godown, mixing room and the weaving department where they worked as healders. Women were mostly employed on a time wage system and were given annas 7 a day.

Children were taken in the mule, the carding and the spinning departments. They were paid annas 6 a day.

Wages in 1935—The rates of wages for various jobs are as follows in 1935 :

The unskilled adult worker is paid annas 6 a day. Children are no longer employed in this mill. The feeder, the mixer and other workers in the card room are paid a time wage at the rate of annas 6 to annas 7 a day. The head mistri in the mule department gets Rs.36 a month. The minder and the piecer are paid a time wage of annas 6 a day. In this case it is to be noted that formerly four men getting annas 8 each had to look after one machine but now two workers have to do the same work and at a daily wage of annas 6. In the finishing department the washing and bleaching mistries get the old wage but the washing and bleaching men get about annas 6 a day.

In the weaving department wages are paid according to quality and quantity of work done. Rates for some of the qualities of cloth are given below :

——	No.	Size	Rate	Approximate daily output	Approximate average monthly income
					Rs. a. p.
Lohi.. ..	3	3 yds. × 60"	Anna 1 per lohi on two looms.	13 to 14 lohis.	21 14 0
	26	3 yds. × 60"	Pies 9 per lohi on two looms.	16 lohis ..	18 12 0

——	No.	Size	Rate	Approximate daily output	Approximate average monthly income
					Rs. a. p.
Lohi.. ..	9045	2½ yds. × 45″	Pies 7½ per lohi on two looms.	20 to 24 lohis.	21 14 0
	60	3 yds. × 64″	Annas 3 and pies 6 per lohi on single loom.	7 ..	38 4 6
Coating—					
Serge ..	..	70 yds. × 74″	Annas 14 per yard.	13 yards ..	23 7 0
Mixed double zeen	..	70 yds. × 74″	Annas 14 per yard.	13 „ ..	23 7 0
Flannel ..	..	70 yds. × 74″	Annas 10½ per yard.	13 „ ..	17 13 0
Patti ..	..	60 yds. ..	Annas 15 per yard (bigger machine).	11 „ ..	21 8 0
Patti ..	..	60 yds. ..	Pies 10 per yard (smaller machine).	13 „ ..	16 15 0

In the hosiery department the steam-power machine workers get Re.1-9 per 100 pairs of socks and they have to look after two machines. The average daily output is 80 pairs. The hand machine workers are paid annas 7 per dozen pairs and the average output is about 2 dozen. The rate paid for stocking is Re.1 per dozen. The charges paid for sewing fine socks is annas 6 per dozen pairs. In the sweater section rates differ according to the nature of the work and the machine used.

The following rates are paid :

Nature of work	Old machine	New automatic machine
	A. p.	A. p.
Body	3 6 per dozen	1 6 per dozen.
Pair of sleeves	2 6 „ „	1 3 „ „
Pair of collars	1 6 „ „	0 9 „ „

The rate in the *banyan* department is annas 2 per piece of *banyan* cloth measuring 12 yards and the worker has to look after two looms. The daily output is about 50 yards per worker. The income comes to between annas 8 and annas 9 per day.

In this department there are the following deduction for wages for breakage in machines :

One needle	Pies 3.
One patti	Pies 6 (a small strip of iron which fixes the needles).
One central needle with clip ..	Anna 1.
One spring	Annas 4.

The average breakage of needles per day is about four. Complaint for short work also exists.

In the engineering department, fitters are paid a fixed wage of annas 12 to Re.1 per day while coolies in the cloth godown, packing godown and retail shop earn a time wage of annas 6 per day.

Comparison of wages between 1929 *and* 1935

The following table compares the monthly earnings of the different workers in 1929 and in 1935 :

Department and the name of jobs	Average monthly earnings	
	1929	1935
		Rs. a. p.
Unskilled (male)	Rs. 13 to 14–10 ..	9 12
Unskilled (female)	,, 11–6	..
Children	,, 9–12 to 10 ..	..
Card room		
Head mistry	Rs. 60	..
Feeder	,, 13	10 9
Mixer	,, 13	..
Card cleaner	,, 29–4	..
Mule room		
Head mistry	Rs. 52	36 0
Minder	,, 26	9 12
Piecers	,, 9–12 to 13 ..	9 12
Finishing Department		
Washing and bleaching mistry	Rs. 26 to 32–8 ..	30 0
Washing and bleaching man	,, 13–14 to 14–10 ..	9 12
Dyeing mistry	,, 50	30 0
Dying man	,, 13 to 14–10 ..	9 12
Finishing mistry	,, 35 to 40 ..	30 0
Finishing man	,, 13	9 12
Weaving Department		
Lohis	Average Rs.28–8–4— Rs.22–12, 25–9–6, 28–7, 29–4 and 36–9.	24 8
Coating cloth	Rs. 35 to 40–10 ..	20 10
Patti	,, 38–9–6 ..	..

Department and the name of jobs	Average monthly earnings	
	1929	1935
		Rs. a.
Hosiery Department		
HAND-POWER		
Fine socks	Rs. 30–5	22 0
Coarse ,, ...	,, 26	
Steam power		
Fine socks	Rs. 20–5	32 0
Coarse socks	,, 21–10–9 ..	
Mistries	,, 40	
Sweater section		
Body	Rs. 39, 26	21 4
Sleeves	,, 32–8, 39 ..	16 4
Collars	,, 29–4	29 4
Throstle Department		
Time wages	Rs. 13 to 15 ..	..
Piece wages	,, 14–4 to 17 ..	..
Assistant mistry	,, 32–8	..
Head mistry	,, 78	..
Engineering Department		
Boiler mistry	Rs. 40	..
Engineman	,, 13 to 19–8 ..	..
Head carpenters	,, 78	..
Assistant carpenters	,, 16–4 to 26 ..	..
Blacksmiths	,, 19–8 to 32–8 ..	..
Fitters	,, 26 to 32–8 ..	22 12
Turners	,, 32–8 to 39 ..	..
Tinsmiths	,, 16–4	..
Mochis	,, 13	..
Cloth godown		
Coolies	Rs. 13 to 16–4 ..	9 12
Mistries	,, 26 to 29–4 ..	..
Packing room		
Coolies	Rs. 13 to 16–4 ..	..
Markers	,, 14–10	..
Mistries	,, 26	..
Retail shop		
Coolies	Rs. 13	..
Mistries	,, 19–8	..

The following table shows the arrangement of the above figures into groups of income per month :

Group of income per month	Numbers of jobs	
	1929	1935
Below Rs.10	..	7
Rs. 10 to 15	15	1
„ 15/1 to 20	5	1
„ 20/1 to 25	3	5
„ 25/1 to 30	13	1
„ 30/1 to 35	6	4
„ 35/1 to 40	8	1
„ 40/1 to 45	1	..
„ 45/1 to 50	1	..
„ 50/1 and above	4	..

Thus we find that in 1929 no less than 75 per cent. of the jobs brought in a monthly wage below Rs.35. Of the 75 per cent. 36 per cent. yielded a monthly income under Rs.15, 12 per cent. between Rs.20 and Rs.25, 31 per cent. between Rs.25 and Rs.30, and 14 per cent. between Rs.30 and Rs.35. Only 25 per cent. of the total number of jobs yielded a monthly wage of over Rs.35. In 1935 the latter figure had fallen to 5 per cent. In fact since 1929 wage rates have declined. The unskilled labourer has to be satisfied with a wage between Rs.9 and Rs.12. In the case of weavers there has been a reduction of about 30 per cent. in their earnings. In the hosiery department the reduction in wages averages between 25 and 40 per cent. In the engineering department the wage cuts have not been serious though new entrants are taken at reduced rates.

The following table shows the movement of wage indices for certain jobs in the woollen industry and their comparison with the movement of cost of living indices for the same years :

Year	Wage indices					Weighted cost of living indices
	Black-smith	Fitter	Car-penter	Engine driver	Boiler man	
Average 1909-1913 ..	100	100	100	100	100	100
1914	119	191	147	194	195	125
1915	119	191	147	216	195	131
1916	113	129	125	216	159	127
1917	137	146	140	231	207	131
1918	161	168	154	231	207	153
1919	155	180	184	280	244	203
1920	190	202	228	308	293	202

Year	Wage indices					Weighted cost of living indices
	Black-smith	Fitter	Car-penter	Engine driver	Boiler man	
1921	202	220	235	327	293	205
1922	214	213	250	327	317	192
1923	214	213	250	336	280	165
1924	220	236	257	336	305	163
1925	208	247	250	385	292	176
1926	208	236	250	385	427	179
1927	214	236	250	394	488	197
1928	214	230	250	385	451	192
1929	214	230	250	385	451	197
1930	214	230	250	385	451	170
1931	150	161	175	269	316	143
1932	150	161	175	269	316	143
1933	150	161	175	269	316	136
1934	150	161	175	269	316	130
1935	150	161	175	269	316	141

It is clear from the above table that wage indices rose from 1917 when it covered the rise in the cost of living. In 1921 another increase in wages was given due to the abnormally high cost of living. Since then wages and cost of living have both declined, the latter outstripping the former. During the depression the fall in the cost of living has been very steep and wages, though they have fallen considerably, have not touched the same low level and indices are higher than the cost of living indices. A comparison with the minimum living wage as discussed in Chapter IV is however necessary before any conclusions can safely be drawn from this fact.

Reduction of hours of work—The reduction of the hours of work from 60 to 54 a week has reduced the wages of all piece workers by 10 per cent. In some cases, due to the increased strictness of the mill authorities over waste of time, idleness and leisurely work the workers have been able to recoup half their loss. Time workers are, however, certainly gainers because they get the same wage and have to work for one hour less. In a leather factory, in order to complete 54 hours a week of actual work, they run the mill overtime if they have to close down for a succeeding day due to some festival. In such a case the piece workers do not lose but the time workers lose extra rest which they would have enjoyed if there was no overtime work. It may be noted that for compensatory over work no extra wages are paid. New entrants on the time wage system are now appointed at reduced rates.

Short-work—The general complaint at the present time in all the factories at Cawnpore is that the authorities do not provide their workers with a full day's work and much of the worker's time is thus wasted. Also, it sometimes happens that the workers are asked to go away after

half a day's work and this half day is completely lost to them for they cannot find work for the remaining hours of the day. The lack of a full day's work affects the piece wage earners very severely. Thus while the monthly wages according to the rate and the possible output per day may suggest a probability of a decent wage at the end of the month, the actual amount earned by the worker is far less than the expected amount because he does not get a full day's work on all the working days of the month.

Fines—The second thing that causes a reduction in the wages in fines. A fine is imposed for a mistake on the part of the worker. If a cloth is spoiled while on the machine, or becomes dirty or gets any other defect the worker is fined for it. The extent of the fine may vary from annas 4 or annas 8 to the full cost of the article. According to the Payment of Wages Act passed in 1936, "the total amounts of fines which may be imposed on any person during any wage period shall not exceed half an anna in the rupee of the wages for that period and no fine can be recovered in instalments or after the expiry of 60 days from the day on which it was imposed."

Charges for breakages—The third hardship akin to that of fines is charging from the workers the cost of needles and slides broken in use. This practice was current in 1929 mostly in the hosiery department of the woollen mills, and in some cases the worker had to part with half of his earnings for the day under this head. The charges for a slide were anna 1 per slide and for a needle pies 3 each. The usual breakage of needles was from two to three. Similarly, in the leather industry the cost of thread and the needles used in the sewing department was deducted from the wages of the worker. Here the deduction for the thread used per day was Re.0-1-3 and the charges for one needle supplied was Re.0-1-6. Thus for all practical purpose, the wages of the workers were reduced by Re.0-2-9 per day by an indirect method. The same practices are still prevalent. In the woollen hosiery department such deductions are made at the rate of pies 3 to pies 6 per needle and anna 1 per patti. In the leather industry hand lasters have to pay Rs.6-8 per punch supplied to them for use and in the closing department the hand nailers have to pay the cost of nails at annas 8 per lb. out of their wages. In hand sewing the needles and thread are paid for by the workers. These charges are known as "cost of materials". The Payment of Wages Act (1936) prohibits all such deductions, and it is hoped that from January, 1937, when the Act will be brought into operation, the workers will be free from such reductions in their wages.

Abolition of bonus—Another loss has been the reduction of an anna per day which had been usually allowed to workers for their refreshments. The authorities point out that the contribution for refreshment has been included in the present higher rate of wages. But the advantage of the former scheme lay in the fact that the workers received this

amount irrespective of the rate of wages or quantity of work done per day. Similarly bonuses paid to workers till 1922-23 have been abolished. These bonuses have been absorbed in the increased rates of wages, the net result is that in many cases, though there is an apparent increase in wages, the employers are actually paying the same amount as before. One or two mills, however, still retain the system of paying bonuses to their workers.

Disadvantage of daily wages—Lastly, the fixation of the rate of wages per day means a loss to the workers on holidays. The custom of not paying wages for Sunday means that either the workers have to starve for the day because of no earnings on that day or that they have to take up work somewhere else. The latter course is very difficult for the workers, specially for the technical and specialized workers who cannot get that kind of work anywhere and everywhere. This means that assuming all the other days except Sundays to be working days in a month, the worker has to live throughout the month upon the earnings of 26 days only. Again the object of observing Sundays as days for rest is obviously defeated as rest with no income is another form of unemployment.

Short work, fines, cost of materials and abolition of bonuses go to reduce the actual receipts of the worker at the end of the month. Making a very conservative allowance for these things, it will not be an exaggeration to say that $\frac{1}{8}$ to 3/16, and in some cases even up to $\frac{1}{4}$, is taken out from the workers' possible earnings.

System of payment—As to the system of payment of wages to the workers it was found that the factories at Cawnpore have two pay days during a month and that payment is made fortnightly. The first pay day is the 7th or 8th day of the month on which payments are made for the second fortnight of the last month and the second pay day falls on the 21st or 22nd of the month when wages are paid for the first fortnight of the same month. The seven days which elapse between the termination of the period for which the wages are paid and the actual pay day are utilized by the clerical staff in the mills in computing the amounts of wages due to each worker individually. Again, this margin, of seven days' wages being due when the wages for the last fortnight are paid, acts as a preventive against the workers running away or leaving the job immediately after receiving their dues. Under the present system if they remain idle in their homes from the day immediately following the pay day, they lose the seven days wages due to them. Thus it indirectly checks the workers from leaving their jobs suddenly and is used in some measure as a weapon by the employers during strikes.

CHAPTER III

STANDARD OF LIVING AND DIETING

THE standard of living for any group of people is roughly measured by the sum of accustomed goods and services which they consider essential for their maintenance. In a very poor community it includes only the barest necessities of physical maintenance while in a rich country it may comprise a variety of luxuries and cultural goods and services. Thus it would be a difficult task to fix a theoretical standard of living for a country as a whole in order to compare it with the standard of living of any other country or people. For all practical purposes, we shall consider a standard to be basal when any fall from that standard leads to under nourishment and physical decline.

Method of investigation—In the light of the above consideration. we shall examine the standard of living of the labourers of Cawnpore, and see how far it conforms to this measure. The bare minimum of living conditions include food, clothing, housing, furniture and chattels, education and a few conventional needs. The method pursued in the inquiry consisted in investigating in detail random samples of about 700 working class families of different economic grades. As stated in the Chapter on Wages, the percentage of labourers in different monthly income grades of below Rs.15, Rs.15 and Rs.30, Rs.30 and Rs.40, and Rs.40 and Rs.50 was 17·6, 52·1, 19·9, and 10·4 respectively.

Only a few mistries and head mistries, who have served long years draw more than Rs.50 a month. To make our conclusions more representative, we have confined our investigation to the 82·4 per cent. of the workers drawing between Rs.10 and Rs.45. Workers whose income falls within these limits have been divided into four economic grades as follows :

Class	Monthly income Rs.
Lowest grade	Below 15
Lower middle grade	Between 15 and 20
Upper middle grade	Between 20 and 30
Upper grade	Between 30 and 45.

We have not been able to calculate the exact number of persons in each industry who fall within the different groups mentioned above because of the difficulty of obtaining the number of workers in various

departments of the mills. Thus we cannot lay down the percentage of the workers coming under each group. But at least we can obtain an idea of the percentage of workers in various groups by mentioning the nature of labour under each group. In the lowest grade with an income below Rs.15 a month, labour is wholly unskilled such as that of messengers, coolies, sweepers, etc. In the second and third groups with a monthly income between Rs.15 and Rs.30, labour is semi-skilled. This class comprises workers engaged on machines requiring little skill and dexterity. Lastly, the skilled workers come under the upper grade with a monthly income varying between Rs.30 and Rs.45. Here we find skilled weavers of the textile industries, lasters, accoutrement makers and saddlers of the leather industry and turners, enginemen and blacksmiths of the Engineering works.

In all these industries it was noticed that there were a few unskilled workers, some highly skilled workers and an army of semi-skilled labourers. Thus a majority of the workers (about 20 per cent. and 52 per cent.) come under the second and the third groups, respectively viz , the middle grade between Rs.15 and Rs.30. At the present time (1935) the wages of labourers rarely exceed Rs.35 a month and the income grades have been pushed down.

Another important question affecting the standard of living is the size of the family. Families with equal incomes but different in size show divergent standards of living. Religion and caste are other factors influencing the mode of living. The Hindus, belonging to the upper classes, have to keep utensils of brass or bronze at considerable expense while the expenditure of a Muslim or a Christian under this head is very small because of the use of earthen and china clay pots. Again, a Hindu worker because of his sentiment and religious fervour would like to have his own separate kitchen and cooking utensils irrespective of his poor financial state, whereas the Mohammadan workers may buy their food from public *tandurs* and *dhabas* (inferior type of hotels). Even the diet of the two kinds of families shows a marked difference. The diet of a Brahmin will be purely vegetarian whereas a Mohamadan or a Christian diet may include items like meat and eggs. Lastly, because of religious scruples, an upper class Hindu spends a pice or two extra per day for his midday refreshment of parched gram or juar at the gate of the factory if he happens to live at a distance. On the other hand, a Mohammadan, a Chamar or a Murai will bring his bread and *gur* or salt in the morning and take it during the interval.

Now, in order to discuss in detail the various items of expenditure, the following monthly budgets of the working class families of different economic grades are given below together with the caste and a short description of the size of the family.

Budget No. 1

Monthly budget of a working class family of the lowest income grade. Income Rs.13 per mensem. The family consists of the worker, his wife and one child aged 3. *Caste sweeper.* (Hindu).

	Rs. a. p.	Percentage of expenditure on each item to total income
Food	8 0 0	61·5
Clothing	2 0 0	15·4
Rent	1 4 0	9·6
Light and fuel	1 0 0	7·7
Tobacco	0 4 0	1·9
Sundries	0 8 0	3·8
Total ..	13 0 0	99·9=100

Budget No. 2

Monthly budget of a working class family of lower middle grade. Income Rs.20 per month. The family consists of the worker, his wife and a son aged 9. *Caste Murai.*

	Rs. a. p.	Percentage of expenditure on each item to total income
Food	12 0 0	60
Clothing	4 0 0	20
Rent	2 0 0	10
Light and fuel	1 8 0	7·5
Sundries	0 8 0	2·5
Total ..	20 0 0	100

Budget No. 3

Monthly budget of a working class family of lower middle grade. Income Rs.20 a month. The family consists of the worker, his wife, two daughters aged 8 and 5 and son aged 2. *Caste Brahmin.*

	Rs. a. p.	Percentage of expenditure on each item to total income
Food	11 0 0	55
Clothing	3 0 0	15
Rent	1 12 0	8·7
Light and fuel	1 8 0	7·5
Interest on debt	2 0 0	10
Sundries	0 12 0	3·8
Total ..	20 0 0	100

Budget No. 4

Monthly budget of a working class family of upper middle grade. Income Rs.24 a month. The family consists of the worker, his wife and two children aged 8 and 2. *Caste Brahmin.*

	Rs.	a.	p.	Percentage of expenditure on each item to total income
Food	12	0	0	50
Milk	2	0	0	8·3
Clothing	4	0	0	16·6
Rent	3	0	0	12·5
Light and fuel	1	8	0	6·3
Sundries	1	8	0	6·3
Total ..	24	0	0	100

Budget No. 5

Monthly budget of a worker earning Rs.25 a month. The family consists of the worker himself. *Caste Mohammadan.*

	Rs.	a.	p.	Percentage of expenditure on each item to total income
Food	10	0	0	40
Milk	3	0	0	12
Clothing	3	0	0	12
Rent	2	0	0	8
Light and fuel	2	0	0	8
Cigarettes and betel	2	0	0	8
Meat	1	14	0	7·5
Sundries	1	2	0	4·5
Total ..	25	0	0	100

Budget No. 6

Monthly budget of a working class family of upper grade. Income Rs.35 a month. The family consists of the worker, his wife, a son aged 10 and a grandson aged 5. *Caste Christian.*

	Rs.	a.	p.	Percentage of expenditure on each item to total income
Food	15	0	0	42·9
Clothing	5	0	0	14·3
Rent	3	0	0	8·6
Education	6	0	0	17·1
Light and fuel	2	0	0	5·7
Sundries	4	0	0	11·4
Total ..	35	0	0	100

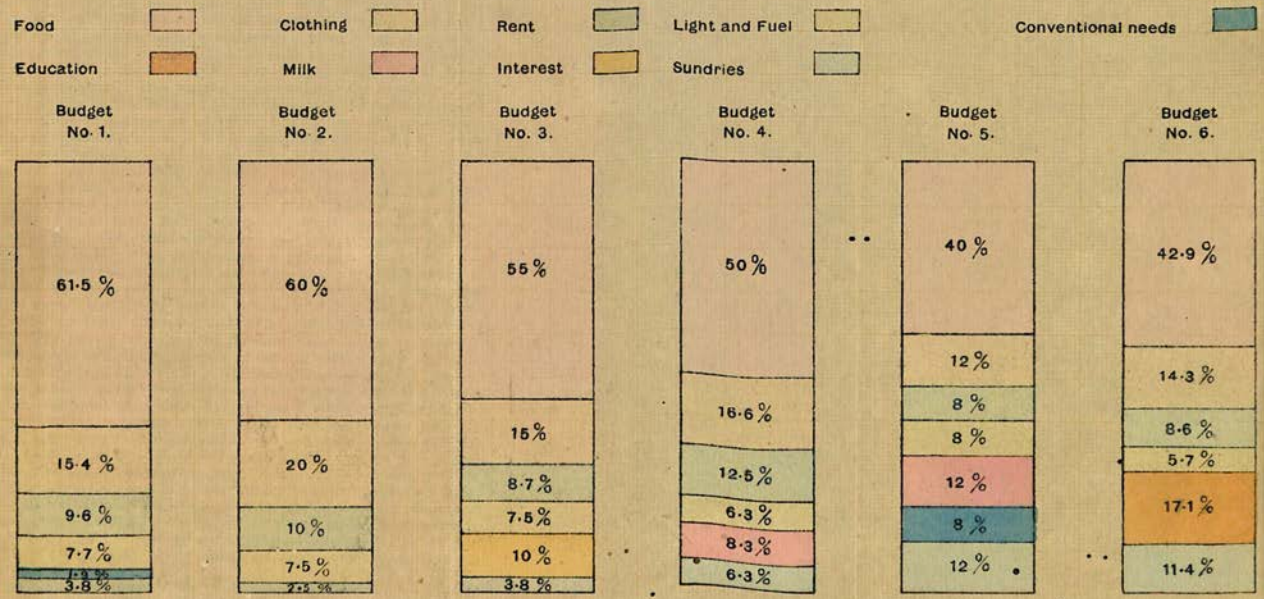
These budgets do not serve the full purpose of determining the standard of living of the workers as they do not give an idea of both the quantity and the quality of the articles consumed. However, they at least give an idea of the nature and extent of expenditure under various heads in which the money is spent. In all these budgets cultural needs are conspicuous by their almost total absence. The expenditure on education is disappointingly low, being nil in the lowest class and negligible in other classes. It is only in one budget, viz. that of a Christian in the upper grade that an expenditure of Rs.6 a month is incurred on the education of his son. In budgets nos. 2 and 4, though the families consist of children of school-going age, no expenditure under that head is incurred. In these budgets the workers had their families with them and hence the question of remittances home does not arise.

We now proceed to a detailed examination of the items mentioned in the budgets. We begin with the subject of housing.

Housing—Cawnpore is a congested city and therefore house rents are comparatively high. Thus the amount of Rs.2 or Rs.3 a month as rent apparently means very poor housing. The house of a labourer in a *basti* at Cawnpore is not worth its name and it will be better to call it a den or more liberally a hut. Two or three dark and dingy rooms, hardly six feet high, and eight by eight feet in size accommodate one to four families. Not only are the houses old, decrepit and in many cases almost unfit for habitation, but they are cramped in narrow streets and yards and most of the houses have only one room and consequently there is very limited sleeping accommodation within them. The difficulty becomes greater in cases where two or more families share a small house. One-room houses are mostly occupied by the workers belonging to the income classes of below Rs.20 a month. Expenditure under this head varies oetween 8 to 12 per cent. of the total expenditure according to the size and income of the family. Housing conditions are slightly better in mill settlements. A detailed discussion on the subject is postponed for a separate chapter on housing and at present it will be sufficient to note that housing here is far from satisfactory and much below the standard of housing required for human dwellings.

Clothing—A worker's dress consists of a *dhoti*, a *bandi* and a cap. A pair of socks and shoes are considered as items of comfort. In winter a *mirzai* or a cotton *chadra* is used against the wind and cold. Very few ever use a woollen coat or a blanket. Females use *dhotis* and a short shirt. In summer quite a large number of men go to the workshop without any shirt or *bandi*. In the night the labourers protect themselves against the cold by burning splinters, leaves or waste paper and use only coarse *chadras* in place of rugs or blankets. Middle class workers use chadras made of mixed wool and cotton while it is only a very small percentage of workers who can afford to use blankets or *lihafs* (cotton cloth sewn in the shape of a bag and containing within it a mass of

GRAPH SHOWING PERCENTAGE OF EXPENDITURE, TO TOTAL INCOME, ON VARIOUS ITEMS OF WORKMEN'S BUDGETS GIVEN BEFORE.



ginned cotton). Even the clothing on their bodies is so dirty that one can safely say that it has never gone to a washerman and this is true in most cases. Such dirtiness is due firstly to negligence and carelessness as a result of illiteracy and ignorance and secondly to the paucity of clothes to wear during the short period for which the clothes are given for a wash. Sometimes the clothes become so old and ragged that one can notice as many as fifteen or twenty patches in a shirt and in some cases they become useless for protection against cold. Expenditure under this head varies with the income and the number of persons in a family. As shown by the budgets, clothing accounts for 12 to 20 per cent. of the total expenditure of the family. The average monthly expenditure is arrived at by dividing the total expenditure on each article of clothing by its estimated duration. This method of ascertaining the expenditure on clothing is similar to that followed by the Bureau of Labour Statistics of the United States Government in 1918. Unlike food, the expenditure on clothing is particularly low in the lower income class and rises in the higher income classes.

Furniture and chattels—Expenditure on furniture and chattels is governed less by the economic status of a family than by its social position. Social status and caste prejudices are great factors in determining the nature of expenditure under this head. Hindus, especially those belonging to the upper castes will always use cooking utensils made of brass and other metals while Mohammadans generally use earthen pots. A Christian mostly uses aluminium and China clay pots. But economic factors also play their part in regulating the expenditure under this head; two upper class Hindu families belonging to high and low income classes will show some difference in their expenditure on furniture and chattels. The family belonging to the low income class may satisfy itself with one or two cooking utensils of inferior quality while the other belonging to the high income class may have utensils of superior quality. Again the poorer workers have only one or two *charpais* made of bamboos and *munj* and supplement them by the use of mats and gunny bags. Workers belonging to higher income grades have one *charpai* for each member of the family. Stools made of wood and straw are also used for sitting. There is no expenditure in working class families on gas and electricity, workers mostly use earthen lamps and burn mustard or castor oil which gives a dim and flickering light in their small dark huts. Middle class workers use tin lamps, or even lanterns in rare cases, and burn kerosene oil instead of mustard or castor oil. The percentage expenditure on the group—fuel and lighting—decreases as the income rises, but is not subject to any great difference between the various income classes.

Food—Lastly we come to the most important item of a workman's family budget, namely food. The budgets given before show that more than half of the expenditure in various income classes is on food. The percentage expenditure on food to total income in the lowest income class (below Rs.15) is 61·5 and in the highest income class (between

Rs.30 and Rs.45) 42·5. It would appear that the greater the earnings of a class of labourers, the smaller is the percentage of those earnings spent on food. In the higher income classes the greater percentage of expenditure on food is due to the large number of persons in such families. In the matter of food, we are not only concerned with the amount spent on it but we have to analyse the quantity and the quality of the food consumed by the workers. It is the physiological value of a diet that affects the worker's health and therefore we shall discuss the question in this light.

The following tables give the actual quantities of cereals and other food-stuffs consumed by the workers per day, together with the cost and the caloric values of each :

Consumption of food per day of the family represented in budget no. 1

Article	Quantity	Cost	Calories	Percentage of expenditure on each article to total expenditure on food
	Ch.	Rs. a. p.		
A mixture of wheat-gram-barley flour (in proportion of 2 : 1 : 1).	24	0 3 6	3,744	77·8
Arhar dal	3	0 0 9	405	16·6
Spices	..	0 0 3	..	5·6
Total ..	..	0 4 6	4,149	100

Calories per adult worker per day 2,000

Consumption per day of the family represented in budget no. 2

A mixture of wheat-gram-barley flour (in proportion of 2 : 1 : 1).	24	0 3 3	3,744	50
Arhar dal	6	0 1 2	810	18
Rice	4	0 0 9	833	12
Ghee	½	0 0 9	244	12
Oil	½	0 0 4	112	5
Spices		0 0 3	..	3
Total ..	..	0 6 6	5,723	100

Calories per adult worker per day 2,289

Consumption per day of the family represented in budget no. 3

A mixture of wheat-gram-barley flour (in proportion of 2 : 1 : 1).	20	0 2 9	3,105	48
Arhar dal	6	0 1 3	810	22
Rice	4	0 0 9	833	13
Ghee	½	0 0 9	224	13
Spices	..	0 0 3	..	4
Total ..	..	0 5 9	4,972	100

Calories per adult worker per day 1,925

Consumption per day of the family represented in budget no. 4

Article	Quantity	Cost	Calories	Percentage of expenditure on each article to total expenditure on food
	Ch.	Rs. a. p.		
Wheat flour	24	0 3 3	3,726	54
Arhar dal	4	0 0 9	833	13
Rice	4	0 0 9	540	13
Ghee	½	0 0 9	224	13
Milk	6	0 1 2*	..	..
Spices	..	0 0 4	..	6
Total ..	..	0 7 0	5,323	99

Calories per adult worker per day 2,241.

Consumption per day of the family represented in budget no. 5

Wheat flour	12	0 1 9	1,863	25
Arhar dal	2	0 0 4	270	5
Rice	2	0 0 6	417	7
Meat	2	0 1 0	252	14
Ghee	1	0 1 6	448	21
Milk	8	0 1 8	318	24
Spices	..	0 0 3	..	4
Total ..	..	0 7 6	3,568	4

Calories per adult worker per day 3,568

Consumption per day of the family represented in budget no. 6

A mixture of wheat-gram-barley flour (in proportion of 2 : 1 : 1).	28	0 3 9	4,347	50
Arhar dal	6	0 1 2	810	16
Rice	4	0 0 9	833	10
Ghee	½	0 0 9	224	10
Oil	1	0 0 9	224	10
Spices	..	0 0 4	..	5
Total ..	..	0 7 6	6,438	100

Calories per adult worker per day 2,341

These tables show that expenditure on milk and *ghee* in the lowest income grade is nil, in the middle income class it is negligible and it increases with a rise in income in the highest income class. Of the total

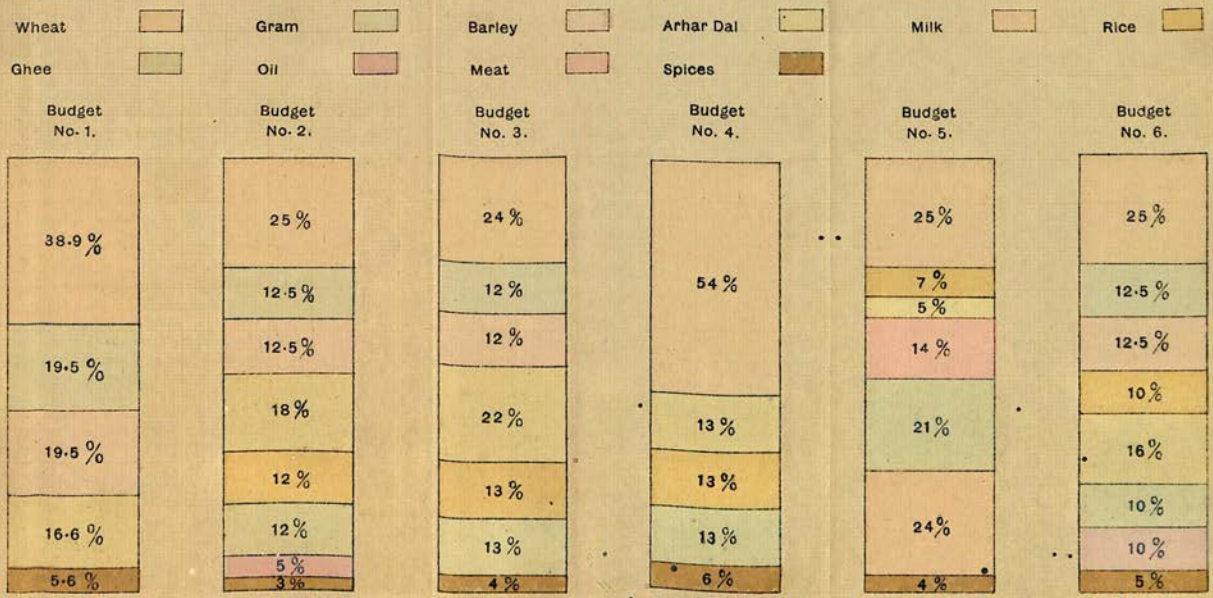
*Only for the baby aged 2.

expenditure on food, food-grains account for the major portion; 60 per cent. of the food expenditure is on cereals and about 16 per cent. on pulses. *Bajra* is consumed only seasonally and in the city, the workers eat more of wheat than other cereals. An examination of the number of calories per adult worker in the various budgets given above shows that the caloric value of food differs with the income class and the number of persons in the family. The caloric value of diet consumed by an adult worker of the lower economic grade (income less than Rs. 15 per month) with a family consisting of two adult members only is 2,000 while the caloric value of food consumed by another adult worker earning Rs.25 a month and with no other family member, is 3,568. On the other land, a family, with Rs.20 as its monthly income and consisting of two adult members and three children show the caloric value of food per adult member to be only 1,925.

Physiological requirements of food—Now in order to find out the deficiency in the caloric value of food consumed by the workers we shall have to find out the physiological requirements of food for an adult worker. Dr. Mukerji in a memorandum submitted to the Royal Commission on Labour emphasizes the differences in the food requirements of workers due to difference in climate condition. Maurel, a French physician, estimates that the number of calories necessary for a male adult weighing 55 kilogrammes and performing light work varies theoretically from 1,650 in hot seasons in hot climes to 2,750 in cold seasons and in cold climes. Hard work has been done in India and Japan on the basis of 2,000 calories as compared with 5,000 which was the British war ration, and 3,300 which is estimated to be the average requirement of a Britisher engaged in secondary pursuits. The weight of an Indian has been found among different tribes and communities to be less by 10 to 20 per cent. than the standard weight of a European. In India clinical researches tend to show that the level of protein consumption, which is sufficient for health subsistence and normal efficiency of an adult, is much lower than the same level for the European adult, being 50 to 70 per cent. of the latter's requirements.

Analysing several representative samples of diet Dr. Mukerji concludes. "It is striking that the Indian worker in the factory, not merely requires but also obtains more calories than are needed by the Indian peasant or a professional man engaged in sedentary pursuits. Thus the calories per adult worker of the lowest grade (2,000) are higher than the estimate of calories needed for a professional worker or a peasant calculated on the basis of a study of the latter's basal metabolism. On the other hand, the calories which the Indian working man's diet yields hardly reach the level at which the British working man's dietetic position ordinary stands. The following comparison is significant :

GRAPH SHOWING PERCENTAGE OF EXPENDITURE
ON VARIOUS ARTICLES OF FOOD TO TOTAL
EXPENDITURE ON FOOD IN BUDGETS GIVEN BEFORE.



	Basal metabolism	Diet
	Calories	
British working man	1,700	3,500
Indian working man	1,200	2,400

The former has a surplus of 1,800 calories to expend on bodily movement (including his work) while the latter has 1,200 calories only. A part of their difference is accounted for by lower weight, but the difference indicates not merely less stamina and more apathy but also less strenuous work, which may be forthcoming. It has been found that the expenditure of calories increases thrice when the rate of working is doubled. Both climate and physiological adjustment have fitted the Indian factory worker to work at a slower pace, and if he has to labour for long hours he adjusts himself by occasional idleness as well as absenteeism.

Defects of the present diet—We shall now consider what diet may be recommended as suitable for the industrial workers of Cawnpore. An examination of the quantity and proportion of cereals and other articles of food consumed by the labourers shows that many workers cannot get sufficient amount of food owing to extreme poverty. Moreover there is malnutrition owing to irrational selection of food.

Secondly, some of the essential foodstuffs such as milk, butter, *ghee* meat, eggs, etc. are not taken at all or in reasonable amounts by the majority, owing to poverty or religious objections.

Lastly the dietary is neither sufficiently varied nor properly balanced. Carbohydrates are taken in large quantities. A deficiency in proteins, fats and vitamins is, on the other hand, especially marked. To assist a proper selection and combination of foodstuffs with essential nutritive elements, we are giving below a table showing the foodstuffs arranged in order of their relative richness in nutrients :

Proteins	Fats	Carbohydrates	Calories
Arhar	Gram ..	Baira ..	Bajra.
Gram	Arhar ..	Rice ..	Wheat.
Wheat	Juar ..	Maize ..	Barley.
Barley	Barley ..	Barley ..	Arhar.
Bajra	Wheat ..	Wheat ..	Rice.
Rice ..	Maize	Juar .	Gram.
Juar	Bajra ..	Arhar ..	Maize.
Maize	Rice ..	Gram ..	Juar.

In addition to physiological suitability of a diet, it is necessary to consider it from economic point of view also. No useful purpose can be served by recommending a diet beyond the ordinary means of a person. The necessary introduction of suitable proteins and fats (including fat soluble vitamins A and B) increases the cost.

Suggested Dietaries—In the following table a number of diet combinations are given consisting only of those food materials which form the staple articles of diet in the United Provinces. The monthly cost of individual diets calculated on the average retail prices current in Cawnpore during 1928 are also given along with it :

TABLE

Diet Combinations	Cereals	Pulses†	Fruits and vegetables		Oil	Salt	§Spices	Caloric value	Monthly cost‖
			Cooked	Uncooked					
	Chattaks	Chattaks			Tola	Tola	Masha		Rs. a. p. Rs. a. p.
*A	Wheat .. 10 to 12	Dal .. 2 to 2·5	4	4	1½	1	1½	2,566-2,934	4 13 6 to 5 5 6
*B	Wheat .. 7-10 & Rice .. 1-25	Dal .. 2·5	4	4	1½	1	1½	2,461-2,923	4 15 0 to 5 8 6
*C	Wheat .. 7-12	Gram and dal 3-5	4	4	1½	1	1½	2,530-3,009	4 12 0 to 5 6 0
‡D	Wheat-Bajra 12	Dal .. 2·5	4	4	1½	1	1½	2,959-3,022	4 13 6 to 5 3 3
‡E	Wheat-Bajra 12	Gram 2 and Dal 1	4	4	1½	1	1½	3,034-3,097	4 11 6 to 5 1 3
‡F	Wheat-Barley 12	Dal .. 2·5	4	4	1½	1	1½	2,908-2,926	4 12 3 to 5 3 0
‡G	Wheat-Barley 12	Gram 2 and Dal 1	4	4	1½	1	1½	2,984-3,002	4 10 3 to 5 1 0
‡H	Wheat-Juar 12	Dal .. 2·5	4	4	1½	1	1½	2,833-2,905	4 13 0 to 5 3 3
‡I	Wheat-Juar 12	Gram 2 and Dal 1	4	4	1½	1	1½	2,908-2,990	4 11 0 to 5 1 0
‡J	Wheat-Maize 12	Dal .. 2·5	4	4	1½	1	1½	2,858-2,912	4 13 0 to 5 3 3
‡K	Wheat-Maize 12	Gram 2 and Dal 1	4	4	1½	1	1½	2,934-2,988	4 11 0 to 5 1 3

*The minimum combined weight of pulse and cereal should be 12½ chataks.
†About one chattak to be taken after sprouting by soaking in water for a day.
‡The proportion of wheat in cereal mixtures should not be less than half.
§The quantity of salt and spices may be *ad libitum*.
‖According to prices current in 1929.

It will be notied that from the economic and physiological points of view the diet combinations C, E, G, and K containing gram are better than others. For the same cost they supply more nutrients and are very good for a worker who is required to lead an active life. The greater the proportion of wheat in these combinations the better it is. The monthly cost of the diet available from these combinations varies from Rs.4-10-3 to Rs.5-5-3 and the caloric value in most cases varies from 2,900 to 3,000.

Gur improves the taste and is a cheap and easily digestible carbohydrate. The addition of one chhatak of *gur* will cost only annas 5 per month and will supply 0·8 chhataks (50 grammes) of carbohydrates and 200 calories in addition to deliciousness and palatability to the less flavoured vegetable diet of a worker.

These scales are based upon a compromise between physiological and economic standards. A cheaper diet than this is likely to be undesirable from the physiological point of view. Based on the same principles of economy and physiological requirements, the following diet is very suitable for a woman doing a moderate amount of work :

Article	Quantity
Whole wheat flour	10 chattaks.
Dal	2·5 chattaks (1 chatak to be taken after sprouting).
Cooked vegetables	4 chattaks.
Uncooked vegetables	4 „
Oil	1½ tola.
Salt	1 „
Spices (turmeric)	1½ masha.

Cost per month Rs.4-13.

Bajra, barley, *juar*, maize can also be taken along with wheat but the proportion of wheat should not be less than half. Two chataks of gram and one of *dal* can also be substituted for 2·5 chataks of *dal* in the above scale. A diet containing milk and *ghee* is very essential for an expectant mother, though it will increase the monthly cost of the diet by about Rs.4.

The illiteracy and ignorance of the workers are largely responsible for untidy habits and irrational selection of foodstuffs. A knowledge of common hygiene and sanitation would have aroused in them a sense of cleanliness and more wholesome living. A few members of the Cawnpore Mazdoor Sabha had some education but even such slight education was not without its effect. These members though belonging to the lower middle grade, kept their clothes clean, used to wash their clothes every Sunday and for the sake of economy had learnt the art of preparing ordinary washing-soaps themselves. Thus the importance of cleanliness made them utilize their holidays in washing their clothes and keeping their quarters neat and clean.

Education

For the removal of illiteracy and ignorance it will be superfluous to dwell on the need for more and better education. Day schools for half timers, night classes for adults and free libraries are some of the means by which intellectual improvement can be brought about. The introduction of a scheme of compulsory primary education in settlements and labour quarters will be a move in the right direction. To make the lessons more interesting and impressive lantern slides and cinema shows may be occasionally used. Along with literary education, vocational and industrial classes should also be arranged. The workers should be shown the various processes and methods of work in the departments of the mill. It would help them in picking up the work of other departments and in doing their own work efficiently. The Indian Industrial Commission pointing out the defect of the present system of education observed, "the spread of education among the artisan classes tended to bring manual labour into contempt, and that the sons of artisans, educated beyond the primary stage showed a distinct tendency to forsake their father's callings in favour of clerical work ." The Commission recommended the scheme of education as followed by the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills in Madras where the industrial bias imparted by the education given has resulted in keeping the pupils in mills as intelligent and efficient workers instead of leading them to desire clerical appointments.

Fair standard of living—Lastly, a fair standard of living should provide not only for physical maintenance, but also for inevitable social needs; for example a little pleasure, a newspaper, occasional contributions to social and economic organizations, some provision for medical attention and funerals, expenses connected with marriages, ceremonies and child-births and a small fund to protect the worker in old age when his limbs and age do not permit him to undertake hard labour.

Indebtedness—It is the inadequacy of income that drives a worker to a moneylender in times of marriages, funerals, sickness, unemployment and the like. The moneylender, because of the pressing need and the poor security offered by the workers, dictates his own terms and charges a high rate of interest. On the other hand, the worker has little or no margin of savings and once he gets into the clutches of the moneylender he can never extricate himself and the debt increases rapidly because of the high rate of interest. Cases have been found where the moneylenders has taken possession of the full earnings of a worker for a month at the very gate of the factory and the worker had again to obtain grain from the *bania* on credit. In many cases the moneylender is also his grocer who supplies on credit the necessaries of life, charging interest by selling at higher prices. It is obvious that in the absence of cheap local credit, the worker cannot help yielding to his account being debited with exorbitant rates out of all proportion to the prices

ruling in the market. It is difficult to give an exact amount of the total indebtedness of the workers because most of the workers are shy about giving out the amount of their indebtedness in public for fear of social degradation or loss of *izzat*. Some cases of indebtedness which could be found out are quoted here. The present debt of a family with Rs.18 as its monthly income was Rs.126 paying interest at the rate of 1 anna per rupee per month or 75 per cent. per annum. In another case a family with a monthly income of Rs.20 had a debt of Rs.175, carrying interest at the rate of pies 9 per rupee per mensem, or 57 per cent. per annum. A third family was under the burden of debt to the extent of Rs.150 and its monthly income was Rs.40; another family with the same monthly income had a debt of Rs.105. The rates of interest in these cases were pies 6 per rupee, per month, or 37½ pr cent. per annum. Indebtedness and the high rate of interest are other deterrent factors in the way of a rise in the standard of living of the workers. Co-operation presents a most magnificent and powerful principle more suited than any other to meet the requirements of the factory worker. It does not countenance charity as such but is based on self-help. It can be applied to the solution of most of the evils referred to above. Co-operative credit societies will give the labourer facility of cheap credit and freedom from the grip of the moneylender. Co-operative stores will supply the necessaries of life of assured quality at reasonable prices. The Co-operative society may even make provision of suitable housing accommodation and insurance against unemployment. The management of co-operative institutions will develop the worker's intellectual and moral faculties and foster prudence and self-reliance. Lostly, co-operative societies can very well take up the task of arranging periodical lectures and other works of general well-being.

CHAPTER IV

REMEDIES FOR LOW WAGES

Minimum Living Wage—One solution of the labour problem is to guarantee a minimum living wage to every worker. In fixing wages, a minimum rate of pay ought to be established which will insure the subsistence of the worker and his family in health and reasonable comfort. Mr. Henry Ford while discussing the same question points out that the minimum wage for the worker ought to include not merely the cost of maintenance for himself but also for supporting his family, clothing them, housing them, educating them, and giving them the privileges incident to their standard of living, besides the provision for still something more in the way of saving.

As the expenditure under various heads is likely to differ with a rise or fall in the price level it is expedient that before determining the wages of a worker the fullest consideration should be given to the increase in the cost of living index. Such cost of living indices should be prepared by the Department of Industries every month, or at least every quarter of the year, and the amount of wages should be regulated according to the cost of living index. In the United States of America and England cost of living indices are prepared by the Labour Department every week and the wage level regulated accordingly in some cases from time to time. In fact, in the United Kingdom agreements between organizations of employers and work-people provide for the regular and automatic adjustment of the wage rates of nearly three million workers, by sliding scales in accordance with variation in the cost of living, generally as measured by the index number published in the *Labour Gazette**.

As for the system of determining rates, both time and piece wage systems should be followed. There should be a fixed time wage for all the workers ensuring a living wage and over and above this there should be additional payment for extra work done according to piece wage rates. Thus the ambitious as well as efficient and quick workers should have ample opportunity of betting their lot by extra work. On the other hand, in order to safeguard against wilful negligence and waste of time on the part of the workers there should be standardization of work by means of time and motion studies for every single job in industrial operations as far as possible, and every worker should be required to do a fixed quota of work per day as determined by such methods of scientific management. By a time study it is possible theoretically to determine

*International Labour Office, Studies and Reports series no. 6, method of Compiling Cost of Living Index Numbers, page 9.

what a man's output should be. Then, making large allowances, it is further possible to get at a satisfactory standard output for a day, and taking into consideration the factor of skill, to arrive at a rate which will express with fair accuracy the amount of skill and exertion that goes into a job—and how much is to be expected from the man in the job in return for the wage. Without a scientific study, the employer does not know why he is paying a wage and the worker does not know why he is getting it.

Rise in wages and profits—Mr. Henry Ford in his autobiography writes, "I believe in the first place that, all other considerations aside, our own sales depend in a measure upon the wages we pay. If we can distribute high wages, then that money is going to be spent and it will serve to make shopkeepers and distributors and manufacturers and workers in other lines more prosperous and their prosperity will be reflected in our sales. Country-wide high wages spell country-wide prosperity."

It should be noted here that there is no element of charity present in the payment of wages and it is always unfortunate to have wages tinged with charity. Justice as opposed to charity should be the guiding principle and it is only through a perfect system of wage payment that universal justice can be achieved. Social justice can accrue only from honest work and just remuneration—the man who contributes much should also receive much. The kind of workman who gives the business the best that is in him is the best kind of workman that a business can have, and he cannot be expected to do this indefinitely without proper recognition of his contribution. The man who comes to the day's job feeling that no matter how much he may give, it will not yield him enough of a return to help him to get what he needs, cannot do his day's work in the best way. He is anxious and worried, and it all reacts to the detriment of his work. But if a man feels that his day's work is not only supplying his basic needs, but is also giving him a margin of comfort and enabling him to give his boys and girls their opportunity and his wife some pleasure in life, then his job attracts him and he is free to give it his best. This is good both for him and his employer. On the other hand, the man who does not get satisfaction out of his day's toil is losing the best part of his pay, and denying his employer his best work.

A living wage by giving contentment to the worker will inspire in him a real desire for honest and harder work. It will ensure that mutual goodwill and trust between worker and employer that can alone bring about peace in the industrial world.

The estimated minimum cost of living for an individual labourer's family consisting of the worker, his wife and two children is given below. For the sake of calculation two children have been equated to one man :

On the basis of the diets suggested in Chapter III the expenses per month would be as follows :

Daily consumption		Consumption per month	Amount spent per month
	Weight	Wheat	
		Sr. Ch. Tola	Rs. a. p.
'A" Diet—			
Wheat	ch. 12 ..	23 4 0	1 12 10
Dal	ch. 2 ..	3 14 0	1 7 9
Oil	tola 1½ ..	0 9 1½	0 4 0
Salt	tola 1 ..	0 6 1	0 0 5
Spices	masha 1½ ..	0 0 4	0 0 7/10
Fruits and vegetable ..	ch. 4 ..	7 12 0	0 8 0
	Total ..	..	3 1 7/10
' Diet—			
Wheat	ch. 10 ..	19 6 0	1 8 0
Rice	ch. 2·5 ..	4 13 2½	0 9 0
Dal	ch. 2·5 ..	4 13 2½	0 9 8
Oil	tola 1½ ..	0 9 1½	0 4 0
Salt	tola 1 ..	0 6 1	0 0 5
Spices	masha 1½ ..	0 0 4	0 0 7/10
Fruits and vegetable ..	ch. 4 ..	7 12 0	0 8
	Total ..	..	3 7 17/10
"C" Diet—			
Wheat	ch. 12 ..	23 4 0	1 12 10
Gram	ch. 3 ..	5 13 0	0 5 7
Dal	ch. 2 ..	3 14 0	0 7 9
Oil	tola 1½ ..	0 9 1½	0 4 0
Salt	tola 1 ..	0 6 1	0 0 5
Spices	masha 1½ ..	0 0 4	0 0 7/10
Fruits and vegetable ..	ch. 4 ..	7 12 0	0 8 0
	Total ..	..	3 6 7 7/10
The average cost of these 3 diets is ..		..	3 4 11⅓

To these items we may add *ghee* and *gur* :

		Rs. a.	Rs. a. p
Ghee	ch. ½	0 15 2½	1 2 9
Gur	ch. 1	1 15 0	0 4 1
	Total ..		1 6 10

The expenses of clothing and foot-wear per head per month would be as follows :

——	Cost per unit	Total cost	Life of the cloth	Average monthly expense
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.
4 *Dhotis*	1 0	4 0	One year ..	0 5 4
4 Shirts	1 0	4 0	Ditto ..	0 5 4
1 Mirzai	1 0	1 0	Two years ..	0 0 8
1 Warm coat* ..	7 0	7 0	Ditto ..	0 4 8
1 Blanket	5 0	5 0	Ditto ..	0 3 4
1 Bedding (carpe) ..	2 0	2 0	Ditto ..	0 1 4
2 Bed-sheets	2 8	2 8	One year ..	0 3 4
3 Caps*	0 6	0 6	Ditto ..	0 0 6
1 Pair of shoes* ..	3 0	3 0	Ditto ..	0 4 0
	..	..	Total ..	1 12 6

Total expenditure under clothing and foot-wear—

	Rs. a. p.
Worker	1 12 6
Children	1 12 6
Wife*	1 3 4
Total ..	4 12 4

Total expenditure under food and clothing per family per month comes to .. .. .. 14 3 4 (food).
4 12 4 (clothing)

Total .. 18 15 8

The total expenses of family of three persons would be.. 18 15 8

To this we add the following items of expenditure—

Light and fuel charges	2 0 0
House rent	3 0 0
Conventional necessities, such as betels, tobacco, cigarettes, etc..	1 8 0
Ceremonies and fastivals	1 0 0
Education..	2 0 0
Charges for barber, sweeper and washerman	1 0 0
Medical fee or medicines, travelling expenses for going Home, amusement and sundries	2 0 0
Total ..	31 7 6

The average monthly expenditure per family comes to Rs.32.

Unemployment—Lastly the attitude of workers becomes more distrustful when they have to face unemployment or under-employment now and then. This question can be divided into two classes according to the nature of unemployment.

* Female workers in these provinces do not use coat, cap or shoes.

Short-work—The first is the part-time or full-time unemployment due to the inability on the part of the employers to provide a full day's work throughout the year. Under such circumstances in Cawnpore the workers have either to waste their time in idleness within the factory or the factory is run only for four or five days a week. Generally in days of slump and business depression the time of the workers is thus wasted and they do not get sufficient work for the full day. Thus their wages are automatically reduced because of the piece wage system.

Strikes and lockouts—The second case of unemployment occurs when the employees go on strike or the employers resort to a lockout as a result of friction between the employers and the labourers. Sympathetic strikes and lockouts have also been resorted to in certain cases. Unemployment in such cases becomes more serious because of its long duration.

Unemployment among the workers is also due in certain cases to a desire for a reduction of wages by the employers who sometimes dismiss the old workers and appoint new hands at reduced rates. The plan becomes successful because of the poverty of the workers and the absence of an effective trade union organization.

Wage Equilization Fund—For the prevention of low wages arising out of under-employment, the creation of a "Wage Equilization Fund" is as much needed as a General Reserve Fund. The employers and workers being the two indispensible classes for the success of a business enterprise it is just and necessary that the business should provide something which both of them can look up to and fall back upon, in times of difficulty. At the present time capitalists often safeguard themselves against risks of business, and the various depreciation and Sinking Funds and the General Reserve Fund go to some extent to ensure the safety of their investments. When the capitalists have a Reserve Fund at their back, it is also desirable that the workers should have some such fund to make good their deficiency of wages in periods of slumps and consequent idleness. It is only the creation of a "Wage Equilization Fund" that can ensure safety for the workers. The annual premium for this fund should be a charge against the profit and loss account of the business, before net profits are declared for distribution to the shareholders. If in a lean year there are no profits then it should be carrid over to the next year, like the debit, balance of the profit and loss account and treated as a business liability.

The introduction of the piece wages system in industry should not imply merely that the worker should do a specified quantity of work for some specified wage, but it should also be morally binding on the employers to provide him with a full day's work. If a worker loses a part of his wages for his wilful idleness, it is but fair that he should be compensated for enforced idleness. The problem of short work is solved satisfactorily by the creation of a "Wage Equilization Fund" out of

which the deficiency of wages due to slump and short work will be made good. In order to find out the actual deficiency of wages the average of the wages of three normal months' just preceding the slump period should, in our opinion, form the basis of calculation.

Unemployment Insurance—Some scheme of unemployment insurance like that adopted in industrial countries in the West is necessary to prevent the evils of long-period industrial unemployment in the country.

An Unemployment Insurance Act was passed in England in November, 1929, to extend the period for which benefits can be received.

In order to bring an Act like this into practice, the Government should open one more department under the Director of Industries, known as the Unemployment section which will receive applications for benefits, examine them as to their genuineness and pass necessary orders.

Leaving aside the question of minor difficulties in the practical working of an Act of this nature, the greatest trouble will arise in cases of industrial disputes between capitalists and workers. As both employers and workers will subscribe to this Unemployment Insurance Fund the former will naturally protest against its use in period of strikes. On the other hand the workers will demand the benefit of this fund during strikes and lockouts. The opposition from both sides will be most severe in cases of sympathetic strikes and lockouts for both sides will plead that as they are not directly concerned with the disputes the funds should not be drawn upon. The solution can be found through the appointment of an impartial committee by the Government to investigate the causes of the dispute and decide as to which party is aggressive. In case the workers are found to be in the wrong they should not be given the benefit of the fund whereas in the other case the benefit should be granted to them. In case both are partly right and partly wrong the arbitration board should decide whether the circumstance and facts of the dispute justify the utilization of the fund or not.

CHAPTER V
HOUSING

Introductory—Cawnpore is the most congested city in the United Provinces. The population per square mile is 22,000 as compared with 1,300 in Lucknow. "The city has grown up on no system; unregulated . Over growing is excessive and the average population per acre throughout the city area is 57·8. In Butcher Khana Khurd and Cooli Bazar it actually reaches 532 and 562".

Condtions, however, are improving and numerous attempts are being made to improve housing conditions as far as practicable. The local Improvement Trust has been investigating the problem and framed schemes for improvement. Employers and public servants have begun to realize that if a healthy race is to be reared it can be reared only in healthy homes; if infant mortality is to be reduced and tuberculosis to be stamped out, the first essential is the improvement of housing conditions; if drink and crime are to be combated, decent, sanitary houses must be provided. If unrest is to be converted into contentment, the provision of good houses may prove one of the most potent agents in that conversion and it is gratifying to note that conditions are steadily improving. The problem of the adequate housing of workers in Cawnpore stll remains a very serous one and is so acute that it must take precedence over all other problems.

The oldest *bastis* are those of Gwaltoli, Khallasi Line and Parmat Bazar. The workers generally live in colonies or *hatas* round their factories. The areas occupied ordinarily by those who work in some of the more important mills are as follows:

The Elgin Mills	Gwaltoli.
The New Victoria Mills	Gwaltoli.
The Muir Mills	Parade, Butcherkhana, Nai Chowk.
The Juggilal Kamlapat Mills ..	Purwa Hiraman, Sisamau.
The Textile Mills	Raipurwa, Colonelganj.
The Balmakund Baijnath Woollen Mills	Colonelganj, Deputy-ka-parao.
The Cawnpore Cotton Mills ..	Khallasi Line, Lachman Purwa.

Industrial housing in Cawnpore can be divided into four classes according to the ownership of the houses, viz. housing provided (i) by the workers themselves; (ii) by their employers; (iii) by Government or any public agency, and (iv) by private landlords.

Houses owned by workers—Only 3 per cent. of the workers have built their own houses on land belonging to themselves, while another 12 per cent. have their own houses built on land for which a monthly rental has to be paid. The remaining 85 per cent. occupy

houses taken on rent. The rent paid for the land on which the houses are situated various from anna 1 per 100 square yards in some part of Birhana to annas 6 per 100 square yards in Pechbagh. Some sweepers who have erected quarters for themselves in Pechbagh have to pay from annas 4 to annas 8 for plots of 300 square yards each.

Housing provided by employers—The employers at Cawnpore as a whole have done very little towards the provision of houses for their operatives. Among those who have done something in this direction the British India Corporation occupies the foremost place.

The following statement gives the names of the factories at Cawnpore with the number of tenements provided, and some of the particulars connected therewith :

Housing accommodation in January, 1935

Name of factory	Number of employees provided with quarters		Number of persons employed by factory	Percentage of persons employed provided with quarters	Average rent per month for single quarters
	Single	Double			
					Rs. a. Rs. a.
Swadeshi Cotton Mills.	27	..	2,984	0·94	Free.
Juggilal Kamlapat Cotton Mills.	..	..	3,506	..	..
Cawnpore Woollen Mills.	655	105	1,245	56·5	1 14
Cawnpore Electric Supply Company.	..	..	279	..	..
Cawnpore Chemical Works.	16	1	226	7·5	Free.
Cawnpore Aerating Gas Company Limited.	14	1	40	37·5	,,
Chaudhry Soap Mills	11	..	18	61·1	,,
United Provinces Tannery Company.	23	28	94	54·3	,,
Cawnpore Textiles Limited.	117	12	1,248	10·3	,,
Union Indian Sugar Mills.	29	148	525	33·7	,,
Rajendra Prasad Oil Mill.	28	9	100	37·0	,,
Bhargava Ice Factory.	3	26	29	100·0	,,
Lakshmi Narain Permanand Cotton Waste Factory.	..	32	53	60·4	..
Cooper Allen and Company.	853	119	2,563	37·9	1 2 to 1 10

Name of factory	Number of employees provided with quarters		Number of persons employed by factory	Percentage of persons employed provided with quarters	Average rent per month for single quarters
	Single	Double			
					Rs. a. Rs. o.
Shree Lakshmi Oil Mills.	3	7	152	6·6	Free.
Ganges Flour Mills	..	..	62	..	..
Cawnpore Iron Brass Works and Flour Mill.	10	..	45	22·2	Free.
Delhi Commercial Tannery.	3	..	114	2·6	,,
Hemraj Cotton Waste Factory.	..	..	29	..	..
The New Victoria Mills.	..	..	4,401	..	..
Elgin Mills Company Limited.	168	52	3,688	6·0	1 2 to 3 8
The Cawnpore Cotton Mills.	..	..	4,342	..	..
The Cawnpore (Kakomi) Cotton Mills.	680	9	1,046	65·9	1 2 to 2 0
Baijnath Balmakund Woollen Mills.	10	..	141	7·1	Free.
Indian Brush Factory and Narain Cotton Mills.	50	..	400	12·5	,,
Indian Distillery ..	19	3	53	41·5	,,
W. B. Shewan and Company, Limited.	13	25	62	61·3	,,
Brushware Limited	3	..	146	2·1	,,
Bharat Engineering Works.	..	..	60	..	..
Atherton West and Company Limited.	..	..	1,180	..	..
Ganga Oil Mills ..	..	..	109	..	..
The Ganga Cotton Hydraulic Press.	..	..	43	..	..
Government Harness and Saddlery Factory.	..	..	1,463	..	..
The Star Press ..	..	..	64	..	..
Baijnath Balmakund Sugar Mills.	14	6	158	12·7	Free.
The Singh Engineering Works.	..	..	131	..	..
Shriram Mahadeo Prasad Roller Flour Mill.	..	..	120	..	..
Shriram Mahadeo Prasad Cotton and Ginning and Press Factory.	..	..	93	..	..

Name of factory	Number of employees provided with quarters*		Number of persons employed by factory	Percentage of persons employed provided with quarters	Average rent per month for single quarters
	Single	Double			
					Rs. a. Rs. a.
Victoria Engineering Works.	..	..	24	..	..
The Cawnpore Tannery.	135	..	324	41·7	1 8
The Indian National Tannery.	70	..	215	32·6	Free.
Cawnpore Sugar Works Limited.	310	..	371	83·6	,,
J. N. Cocolas and Company Limited.	25	9	155	22·0	,,
Nihalchand Kishore Lal Ginning Factory Limited.	..	..	174	..	..
Sri Krishna Ginning and Pressing Mills.	13	3	110	14·5	Free.
Muir Mills Limited..	..	..	2,994	..	..
The rest ..	..	..	6,067	..	..
Total ..	3,302	595	41,346	9·4	..

Housing accommodation wherever provided is not sufficient and its inadequacy is proved by the low percentage of the number of tenements provided to the total number of workers employed by the mills. All mills taken together, the percentage of housing accommodation provided to the total number of industrial workers in the city is 9·4. Out of the mills providing houses for their workers, the largest percentages of 100, 83·6, 61·3, 61·1 and 60·4 are shown by the Bhargava Ice Factory, Cawnpore Sugar Works, Choudhry Soap Mills, W. B. Shewan ond Co. Ltd., and Lakshmi Narain Permanand Cotton Waste Factory, but it should be noted that these firms employ only 29, 371, 62, 78 and 53 workers in all. Among the mills with a large number of operatives the Woollen Mills with 1,345. Cawnpore Cotten Mills (Kakomi) with 1,046 and Cooper Allen & Co.; with 2,563 have provision of housing for 56·5, 65·9, and 37·9 per cent. respectively. The Elgin Mills with 3,688 workers, The Cawnpore Textiles Limited with 1,248 workers and Swadeshi Cotton Mills with 2,984 workers provide houses for ·94.

* In some cases where the total population of the mill quarters was given, including the wife and children of the worker who live with him and are not the workers of the mill, the number of employees provided with quarters has been calculated by dividing the total population of the mill settlement by 4·5, the average size of a worker's family at Cawnpore.

6·0 and 10·3 per cent. respectively. Other mills like Juggilal Kamlapat with 350, the New Victoria Mills with 4,401, Cawnpore Cotton Mills with 4,342. The Muir Mills with 2,994, Government Harness and Saddlery Factory with 1,463 and Atherton West Co. Ltd., with 1,180 have no provision for housing their workers.

In the Woollen Mill Settlement known as McRobertganj, the quarters are divided into three classes : double superior quarters, ordinary double quarters and single quarters. A double superior quarter contains two rooms measuring $12 \times 10'$, one kitchen $8' \times 6'$, one tin shed latrine and a verandah measuring $20' \times 6'$ in front of the two rooms. There is one window in each room for ventilation. The quarter is made of bricks and mortar, has a pakka floor and a tile roof. The doors in this quarter have glasspanes. Rent for such quarters is Rs.9-8 per month; they are generally occupied by the well paid clerical staff of the mill.

An ordinary double quarter differs from the double superior type in the size of the rooms and the quality of the doors. This inferiority reduces the rent for these quarters to Rs.5-10 per month.

The single quarters, mostly occupied by the workers, contain one room measuring $10' \times 12'$ and a verandah $7\frac{1}{2}'$ wide in front of the room. There is no separate provision for a kitchen or latrine in these quarters. A temporary mud wall 4' high has been built at one of the outer ends of the verandah and this enclosed space is used by the workers as kitchen. These are pakka quarters with tile roofing but no window for ventilation. Ill-ventilation and the absence of chimneys afford poor facilities for the smoke to go out and the rooms become dark and black. The rent for these quarters is Re.1-14 per month.

Sanitation in the settlement is not unsatisfactory. Sweepers have been employed by the authorities to clean the paths within the settlement twice a day. Pakka drainage lines have been constructed in front of all the quarters and a pumping station has been constructed within the settlement to wash the drains. A single tenement quarters have no latrines or urinals; common latrines and urinals for males and females have been separately provided.

The water-supply meets the needs of the workers. There are no wells and pipe connections have been laid down throughout the settlement. No quarter has a separate pipe connection.

For every five to ten double quarters there is a pipe in the centre of the open space before the quarters. Single tenement quarters have been constructed horizontally and the rectangular space left in the centre is stonelaid. It is in the centre of this stonelaid rectangular space that we find a pipe supplying water to the occupants of the quarters.

Workers can easily take their bath on these stonelaid floods. One pipe within a compound means that the occupants of about 50 single tenement quarters have to depend for water upon that one pipe. Paths within the settlements are mostly brick or stone covered and the main paths are lined with big green trees like tamarind. Th paths are 9 to 12 feet wide and contain drainage lines on both sides. There are club rooms, covered wrestling pits, a large community hall, a segregation hospital, a home for widows, a central office, shops, woodyards and a butcher's shop. In fact, it looks a self-contained and happy village.

Another big settlement known as Allenganj, for the workers of the Cooper Allen Mills and the North-West Tannery, Company provides accommodation for 972 workers' families. The quarters in this settlement are divided into two classes—single and double. Single quarters are again sub-divided into two classes, those having a small verandah in front of the room and those having no verandahs. The size of the room for these single tenement quarters is $12' \times 7'$ with a verandah 5 feet wide. Rent for the quarters having verandahs is Re.1-8 per month and for those having no verandahs it is Re.1-2. An extra charge of annas 2 per quarter is taken for scavenging.

Double quarters have two rooms measuring $10' \times 8'$ with an open verandah 5 feet wide. Rent for such quarters is Rs.3-4 per month. A few quarters have an additional small room attached as kitchen, and the rent charged is Rs.4-14 a month.

There are no windows for ventilation into the rooms and due to the absence of verandahs in a class of single tenement quarters, the workers cook their food within the room. In rainy season the open verandahs are no good for cooking and the occupants of such quarters also cook within the room.

Sanitation here is not altogether satisfactory. No quarters have separate latrines but there is a common latrine for all. Water is supplied through pipes but the supply is inadequate. Paths and compounds are not stone-paved and sweeping arrangements are capable of improvement.

The Kakomi settlements in Juhi are meant for the workers in the Cawnpore Cotton Mills. There are about 319 quarters. They are classed as single and double quarters. Rooms measure $8\frac{1}{2}' \times 8\frac{1}{2}'$ and the difference between the single and the double quarters is only in the number of rooms. There are no verandahs attached to any quarters. Monthly rent for the single quarter is Rs.1-8 and for the double Rs.2-8 Quarters are divided into various compounds.

Sanitation in this settlement appears to be somewhat neglected. There is one common latrine for all and there are no drainage lines. The water thrown by workers, therefore, either soaks into the ground or

is accumulated in small pits before the quarters. There is no sweeping arrangement. Paths are all kachcha and in the rainy season mud and dirt make it difficult to pass through.

The source of water supply is wells. Each compound contains a well in the centre.

The Cawnpore Tanney provides 157 quarters. The quarters are very small measuring 8′ × 8′ with a feet wide verandah. They are built in a rectangular form. Rent varies between Rs.2 and Rs.2-8 a month. There is a common latrine. A well in the centre of the compound is the only source of water-supply.

In general, quarters provided by other mills mentioned above conform to a low standard of housing. Sanitation is generally poor and neglected. Rent rates vary between Re.1-8 to Rs.2-8 a month for single tenement quarters.

Messrs. Juggilal Kamlapat have purchased a plot of land adjoining their mill and propose to build a thousand quarters for their labourers.

The accommodation provided by the factories is much appreciated by the workers. Generally the quarters in the settlements are occupied easily and the workers prefer them to huts in the *hatas* and *bastis*. The reason is obvious. On payment of nearly equal rent what they pay in *hatas* and *bastis* the workers get good many facilities and privileges in a settlement. Not only are the quarters of a better type but other facilities like a hospital, a reading room, arrangements for latrines and urinals, good water-supply and other amenities are also available. Again, the company of co-workers in the same establishment afforded by a settlement is more coveted than that of workers in different occupations and industries. Such amenities attract workers of different mills to live in, even though the rent charged to them is higher than for the workers of the mill owning the settlement.

Housing provided by public bodies—Recently the Cawnpore Improvement Trust has constructed 186 houses providing accommodation for 0·45 per cent. of the total number of labourers in the city. These are grouped into five classes known as A, B, C, D and E.

Twenty-four A class houses contain two rooms measuring 10′ × 10′, a verandah 10′ × 7′, a courtyard 14′ × 14′, a kitchen 10′ × 6½′, a latrine and a water pipe. The rent for such houses is Rs.6-8 per month.

Twenty B class houses have a room measuring 10′ × 10′, a verandah 10′ × 7′, a courtyard 10′ × 12′, and a latrine. The rent is Rs.3-4 per month.

Sixty C class houses contain one room measuring 10′ × 10′ and a verandah 10′ × 7′. The rent for such quarters is Re.1-8 a month.

Seventy D class houses have one room 12′ × 9′, a verandah 12′ × 7′, a courtyard 12′ × 14′, another verandah 12′ × 9′, and a latrine. The rent is Rs.4-8 a month.

Eight E class houses contain a room 15′ × 10′, a verandah 15′ × 7′, a courtyard 15′ × 12′, a kitchen, a latrine and another room on the upper storey measuring 15′ × 10′. The rent is Rs.8 a month.

These quarters have been constructed with the idea of hire-purchase. The rent mentioned above is chargeable on hire. If the worker wants to purchase the quarter, he has to pay Rs.9, Rs.4-8, Rs.3 and Rs.7 per month for A, B, C, and D classes respectively for a period of 12 years after which he becomes the owner. Normal repair and upkeep of the quarter is to be done by the Trust during this period. The occupier has to deposit the rent for six months in advance as a security and has to pay the rent regularly every month; every default means a fine of rupee-one per month and for a continued default the tenant is asked to vacate the house. It may be noted that no interest is paid on six months' advance rent to be deposited for 12 years.

It is difficult for a labourer to pay six months' rent in advance as a security. Generally he borrows this money from the money-lender and pays interest. The rent he is actually to pay is thus considerably increased.

The procedure of securing a house from the Trust is also to be considered. In the beginning the applications for houses were received through the local Mazdur Sabha which has to certify that the applicant was an industrial worker. The agency has now been changed. The applications are now received through the Mill Manager certifying that the applicant is working in his mill. This certificate is needed again at the time of allotment of houses. The change has caused some inconvenience to the workers. It is easier for them to meet the Secretary of the Mazdur Sabha than to approach the Manager. The applications, therefore, go through the jobber who has usually to be compensated by some gratification for his recommendation to the Manager. The Improvement Trust has recently given on hire-purchase system 24A class, 20B class and 60C class quarters to the Elgin Mills, Limited, Cawnpore. The Elgin Mills have let these houses to their workers on the rent that was to be charged by the Trust. The Elgin Mills will pay to the Trust the fixed rates for 12 years and become the owners of these quarters. The concession that was meant for the poor labourers is thus enjoyed by the millowners.

The Improvement Trust formerly had a scheme for the construction of 20,000 quarters on the open space lying between MacRobertganj and Allenganj. This has now been given up and the plot is being used for playgrounds. Instead the Trust is offering land in Juhi, Chamanganj,

Naseemabad and Dalelpurwa. The whole locality is known as the mill area and is close to a number of mills. Plots are sold at rates varying between Re.1 and Rs.2 per square yard. The difficulty in the scheme was that land was sold in parcels of 1,000 square yards which no labourer could afford to purchase. The Plots were actually purchased by landlords and *hatadars* who constructed quarters and let them on hire to labourers. The main object of the scheme was thus defeated. Now the Trust is going to sell plots in smaller parcels and it is hoped that a few labourers may purchase land in this area. Sanitation in this locality is still neglected.

Housing provided by private landlords—About 75·15 per cent. of the workers live in houses built by private landlords in *bastis* and *hatas*. The well-known *hatas* are Chote Mian ka Hata, Farhad Mian ka Hata, Mangli Prasad's Hata in Patkapur near Tapeshuri Devi's Temple, and a *hata* near Swadeshi Mills owned by a contractor. Conditions in these *hatas* are deplorable. Small huts in hundreds, and sometimes in thousands, are constructed with bamboo and tile roofs each enclosing a space about 10′ × 8′. There are no verandahs attached to these huts and no drain in the whole compound. Latrines are nowhere to be seen and the occupants ease themselves in adjoining fields or municipal drains. One or two non-masonry wells form the source of water-supply. The huts are mostly made of mud. Because of the absence of the drains in the compounds the occupants dig a pit in front of their dwellings and the water is left to accumulate there. These pits are emptied weekly or fortnightly and water is thrown out of these pits on the earth to be soaked in due course. Sometimes water overflows out of the pits and gives out bad smell. It is near these pits that the workers wash their vessels morning and evening. In the *hata* near the Swadeshi Mills there was a big pit adjoining the well. This pit was meant for throwing the refuse of the house. Water constantly fell into the pit because of the nearness to the well and putrified the heap of refuse.

Conditions in *bastis* are no better than in the *hatas*. *Bastis* inhabited mostly by labourers were visited, the more important among them being Khalasi Line, Raipurwa, Gwaltoli Colonelganj, Seesamau, Lachamanpurwa and Begamganj. Houses for the labourers in *bastis* are made of mud. In some houses the walls are made of straw mats and mud is thickly plastered upon them. Space within these houses is very limited and the height is small. To enable a worker to stand erect within a hut the ground level is lowered, by digging the earth to a depth of about 2 feet. It will be proper to call the main outlet of the house a window rather than a door and one has to enter the house with bent knees. Lowering of the ground level within the hut leads to dampness. There being no other ventilation except through the main outlet, the dampness becomes permanent and sufficient air and sunshine do not get in.

The following statement shows the rents which have to be paid to private landlords for rooms in *hatas* and *bastis* in three different parts of Cawnpore :

Description of quarters	Rent of quarters		
	Colonelganj	Birhana	Pechbagh
1. Single room, mud walls, tiled roof, approximate area 16 to 22 square yards.	Rs. a. Rs. a. 1 8 to 2 0	Rs. a. Rs. a. 1 0 to 2 0	Rs. a. Rs. a. ..
2. Single room and verandah and courtyard, pakka or mud walls, tiled roof, approximate area 22 to 50 square yards.	1 8 to 2 0	1 12 to 4 0	1 8 to 4 0
3. Single room, verandah and courtyard, pakka or mud walls, country tiles, a flat roof, approximate area 30 to 100 square yards.	2 8 to 3 0	6 0 to 8 0	5 0 to 7 0

In short, the rent varies from Re.1 to Rs.2 per month for the poorest kinds of huts. In view of the poor income of the workers this amount is too much for them and to overcome this difficulty two or more workers join together and hire a hut. An extreme case was noticed in Khalasi Line where as many as seven single adult workers were living in one hut. Case have also been found where father and son, both leading a married life, were living in the same room. The only means of separation was a *dhoti* hung across the room. This kind of sub-letting to share the amount of rent exists in the settlements as well. In spite of the prohibitory orders of the authorities, sub-letting is practised and a partner is often taken as a relative.

Sanitation in *bastis* is bad. The houses being small have neither latrines nor urinals and municipal drains or adjoining waste lands are used instead. Drains in these parts of the city appear to be quite neglected and are full of filth and stagnant water.

Water-supply in these quarters is most unsatisfactory and inadequate. In a mohalla like Khalasi Lines with more than 500 workers' dwellings there is no municipal pipe and the inhabitants have to depend upon one masonry and two non-masonry wells. Even these wells are neglected and uncared for. They are left without cover and leaves fall into the well.

Two alternative schemes are suggested for the solution of the housing problem at Cawnpore. The first scheme is the formation of a Co-operative Housing Society. Workers desiring to own a house should join the Housing Society and become its members by paying an entrance

fee. The Society should then apply to the Improvement Trust for land on the lowest possible rates. After acquiring the land, the Society should raise a loan at the lowest rate of interest available either with a bank or with the Government and construct the house according to the modern housing principles under the guidance of an expert. The workers should then be given a house to live in and should be asked to pay the cost in equal monthly instalments. One instalment should include a share of the interest charges for the amount spent in building it, a share of the ground rent and a small amount towards the repayment of the capital. The instalment should be so calculated is to pay off the whole amount within 20 to 30 years and at the time of his retirement from work, he must have a house of his own to pass his remaining days. It should be noted that the term of lease of land to be acquired and the loan to be taken should be considerably long to enable the Society to repay in small instalments. We, therefore, consider that co-operative central banks or joint stock banks will not be in a position to advance very long term loans on very low rate of interest. Thus only the Government can advance such loans and solve the difficulty. In cases of long lease of land on nominal rent both the Municipal Board and the Improvement Trust can do the needful. Bombay has given a commendable lead in this direction. The Saraswat Co-operative Society of Bombay erected three buildings for the workers' dwellings. The plot of ground was taken on a lease of 999 years from the Bombay Improvement Trust. The Government of Bombay also agreed to advance up to 5 lakhs of rupees at 6 per cent. or at lower rate of interest, if necessary, to the Co-operative Housing Societies. As a measure of extra concession and encouragement, the Municipal Board should remit the Municipal charges for at least first 5 years. After 20 or 30 years when the whole amount has been repaid the workers should become the owners of their respective houses and the Society should dissolve.

Another scheme is that the Improvement Trust should demolish the slums and build new quarters instead of the poor insanitary and unhealthy huts, and give them to the workers on rent. The idea should ultimately be to pass on the ownership of these quarters to the workers and therefore the cost of quarters with interest on the amount spent should be spread over a period of 30 years in equal monthly instalments and this amount should be charged as monthly rent. The utmost economy should be exercised in the construction of these quarters to minimize the total cost and the monthly insalments. Here acquisition of slum areas by the Improvement Trust, as already done in certain quarters, not only fails in solving the problem, but aggravates the trouble. In one quarter a slum area was acquired by the Trust and the old houses were demolished. Now instead of constructing the workers' quarters, the Trust sold the various plots of

land and naturally the rich purchased them. The new owners built fine buildings on those plots and the workers had to recede to other backward and congested quarters and had even to pay higher rents. The merit of the scheme lies in providing the workers with decent dwellings at a low monthly charge. The instalment being fixed, the worker so long as he pays regularly has no fear of sudden eviction or a rise in rent. The possibility of ultimate ownership of the house will make him more careful about the regular payment of instalments and induce him to look to its proper upkeep and cleanliness. Lastly, the construction of a number of houses by one central agency is likely to place it in a better position to conform to sanitary requirements like conservancy and water-supply.

Of the two scheme discussed above, the first scheme of a Co-operative Housing Society is preferable. In quarters built by a Co-operative Housing Society, it would be easier for the society to collect monthly instalments from the occupants because they would be members of the society and as much are apt to realize their responsibility. The members of the society being workers and inmates can exercise their influence on one another in persuading prompt payment. Lastly, the Improvement Trust would have considerable facility in dealing with one society rather than with a hundred individual members.

CHAPTER VI

HEALTH

To get an idea about the general health of a particular community or people, we have to examine the rates of birth and mortality. Unfortunately, the various factories at Cawnpore do not maintain a record of the vital statistics of their employees. It is only in the settlement of the British India Corporation that the settlement hospitals keep some records. Thus the only source which can give us an idea of mortality and birth rates among the labourers is the municipal records. The following table gives the birth and death rates for the Cawnpore municipality from 1913 to 1935:

Years	Birth rate	Death rate	Survival rate
1913	47·59	44·13	+3·46
1914	49·25	33·62	+15·63
1915	44·62	29·05	+15·57
1916	46·69	30·16	+16·53
1917	46·31	36·40	+9·91
1918	39·78	94·85	−55·07
1919	34·14	46·67	−12·53
1920	31·71	38·51	−6·80
1921	31·08	37·22	−6·14
1922	26·75	29·82	−3·07
1923	22·13	28·49	+3·64
1924	30·88	29·85	+1·03
1925	27·5	26·0	+1·5
1926	30·25	22·96	+7·29
1927	31·1	24·2	+6·9
1928	39·45	45·47	−6·02
1929	36·93	52·44	−15·51
1930	47·91	44·17	+3·74
1931	44·73	37·93	+6·80
1932	54·59	35·14	+19·45
1933	61·25	39·69	+21·56
1934	60·24	48·37	+11·87
1935	56·89	52·91	+3·98

Health and Housing—If we turn, however, to the figures of vital statistics for well-known labour quarters in the city, we may arrive nearer the real state of things. The following table shows the birth and death

raes in certain labour quarters along with the percentage of labour population in those mohallas :

Mohallas	Approximate percentage of labour population to total population of the mohalla	Birth rate	Death rate	Survival rate
Khalasi Line	90	57·39	65·96	—8·57
Rajpurwa	70	35·17	54·43	—19·26
Gwaltoli	60	51·12	75·29	—24·17
Colonelganj ..	50	43·09	46·44	—3·35

From the above table, it is clear that the death rate among the labourers is extremly high. Nowhere does the birth rate exceed the death rate but, on the contrary, in mohallas like Gwaltoli and Raipurwa the survival rates are—2·417 and—19·26 respectively. Some allowance must however be made for the fact that many workers send their womenfolk out of the city to their own homes before child-birth. A higher rate of deaths due to tuberculosis is also conspicuous in labour quarters. The Cawnpore Municipal Statistics show that during the years 1921—27 the average tuberculosis death rate among females in certain labour mohallas reached as high as 8·8.

The following table brings out clearly the intimate relation which exists between housing conditions and the health of the people in the city of Cawnpore :

Mortality figures—*

	Per mile
Cawnpore Municipality	47
Whole Province	25
Rural areas of province	24
Urban areas ,, ,, ...	37
MacRobertganj Workmen's Settlement	34

The beneficial effect of sanitary arrangements can be estimated from the low death rate at MacRobertganj where the dwellings have been built on sanitary principals. No separate statistics have been prepared by the employers of the Mazdur Sabha. The British Inndia Corporation reports that the death rate of one industrial settlement for a period of 24 years was 31·9 per cent. in the settlement as against 53·44 per cent. in the city. The condition of the workers who live in the city or

* Report of the Director of Public Health to United Provinces Government.

in other insanitary dwellings is extremely depressing when the following figures are compared with the foregoing ones :

Average mortality for 1921—28*

	Cawnpore City	Gwaltoli	Khalasi Line	Colonelganj	Raipurwa	British India Corporation Settlement
Percentage of labourers	40	60	90	70	50	90—95
Average death rate ..	46·32	95·29	65·96	54·43	46·44	34—58

The elucidation of these figures throws a lucid as well as a lurid light on the conditions of the workers. They point to the inevitable conclusion that better housing conditions are accompanied by low death rate as in the case of the British India Corporation.

This is not the end of this dismal picture of the health of the workers in Cawnpore. The following statistics culled from the municipal records clearly illustrate the evils of bad housing conditions.

Infant mortality in

Wards	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928
Khallasi Lines ..	413	390	436	442	266	441	341	412
Colonelganj	537	528	362	377	383	459	229	321
Gwaltoli	522	481	550	468	494	447	331	364
Lachmanpurwa ..	671	344	389	547	308	364	378	328
Raipurwa	727	452	535	699	385	561	417	626

The ravages of tuberculosis unfold another gloomy aspect of the labour condition of Cawnpore which should not escape our attention.

Figures are per mille

Wards	1923		1924		1925	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Gwaltoli	2·7	3·1	3·1	4·4	3·4	5·5
Anwarganj ..	2·1	4·8	1·8	4·6	1·1	5·9
Purwa Hiraman ..	4·3	8·8	2·9	8·0	2·9	8·8
Sisamau	3·0	3·6	2·4	4·7	3·4	5·8
Colonelgunj ..	1·3	3·1	1·8	3·6	1·6	4·5

* Evidence of the Cawnpore Improvement Trust before the Royal Commission of Labour, India.

The figures speak for themselves and do not need any comment. The comparison of these figures with the figures for New York will be illuminating.

Tuberculosis in New York

Year	Death rate per mille	
	Males	Females
1921	1·2	·8
1926	1·1	1·8
1927	1·0	2·0

The figures for Cawnpore show that the situation has not shown any change for the better, rather in recent years it has become worse. The most disquieting feature in the spread of tuberculosis lies in the fact that the incidence of the disease is greater among women and young men. "For every boy or young man that dies of tuberculosis" remarks the Health Officer of Calcutta " between four and five girls and young women die of this veritable 'White Plague'."

In one group of industrial settlements with population of 7,000 textile labourers, there were, on an average of four years, 25 cases of Kala Azar, 5,550 cases of malaria, 475 of cholera and 1·25 of hookworm, treated in each year. The effect of congestion and environment are decidedly greater on the women than on the men and the mortality rates from turberculosis once more reflect their natural connexion.

Health and working conditions—Health and diseases are also indissolubly bound up with working conditions. In works where fumes and dust are common and unavoidable, such as foundaries, cotton mills, tanneries and flour mills, conditions are unwholesome and detrimental for health.

In cotton mills at Cawnpore the control of temperatures and humidification is carried out according to rules recently introduced and the sanitary arrangements in the factories fully conform to the rules laid down by the Factories Act, and they are regularly supervised by the Government Factory Inspection Staff and the Medical Officer of Health but the constant strain under which the operatives have to work, often impairs their health.

In the summer, in cotton mills the heat caused by the machines and the artificial humidity of the rooms, especially the spinning and the weaving rooms, makes the atmosphere within the rooms suffocating. The need of exhaust fans to meet the situation is badly felt. In the Cawnpore Cotton Mills (Kakomi) *khas tattis* were used to cool the atmosphere of the rooms in the spinning section. Cases have been noticed of physically weak workers fainting within the factory rooms because of the exceedingly hot atmosphere. It is difficult to give an accurate idea

of the uneasiness of the workers due to defective working conditions. It is satisfactory to note however that conditions in this respect are being gradually improved. It is in the early days of a worker's employment in a factory that he feels most uneasy. This is due to the unaccustomed conditions of work which he has to face. If he finds the atmosphere and conditions of work too uncongenial, he leaves the job or his services are dispensed with due to frequent illness and absence. On the other hand, if he proves to be strong enough he becomes accustomed to those conditions and does not feel much uneasiness.

At Home—The conditions at home are generally unsatisfactory. The small mud huts with one or two very small rooms afford shelter to a worker's family and within these dark, ill-ventilated and damp rooms the workers have to pass their days. The thatched roofs of these small huts hardly provide shelter to the family against sun, wind and rain. The worst condition can be seen in the evening when the worker cooks his food within the hut. In a corner we find a baby sleeping and in another corner of the very room, full of smoke, the worker cooks his food. Again, in the rainy season, water enters the hut through the thin leaky roof and in some cases we find the floors of the huts covered with rain water and mud. In such cases the workers have to undergo great difficulties in finding a dry corner in the hut to cook their food and to sleep. Sometimes they have to keep awake for the whole night because of the rains. We can imagine the dampness in the huts caused by water. Even in the settlement the workers are not relieved of their troubles. Here no doubt the roofs are made of tiles and the rain water and mud do not disturb him. But the lack of accommodation within the settlement quarters, more particularly within the single tenement rooms, creates the same unhealthy atmosphere at the time of cooking. The houses also are not well ventilated and back to back quarters are the worst in this respect. The smoke which finds no easy outlet makes the lower side of the tiles black and after some time the black dust falling from the roof spoils the poor meals of the labourers. In summer the tile roofs get too heated in the day and it becomes very uncomfortable for the workers to live under them.

Physique—Generally speaking workers at Cawnpore have a poor physique. It is the constant over-fatigue and ill-nourishment that wrecks his health for it has been noticed that the workers fresh from villages are quite healthy. It is only after nine or ten months' work in the mills that workers show signs of breakdown in health and require some rest. During the course of investigation, I met with certain workers who had pale sunken cheeks and looked sullen. A conversation with them disclosed that this was due to the fear of the Banya who would pounce upon his scant wages on the pay day, leaving him without any money for a fortnight. In a particular case it was found that the worker after suffering from malaria for a month had just taken up work

in a mill. He had to support a wife and three children. Because of ill-health, the poor worker could earn in the first month about Rs.10 and he had already incurred a debt of Rs.20 during sickness. On receipt of his wages, the Banya took away Rs.8 forcibly at the very gate of the factory and thus the family had again to borrow or to starve. It is conditions like these which make it impossible for many workers to take part in recreation and amusements.

Medical facilities—We shall now consider what medical assistance the workers may obtain. The big factories have dispensaries within the factory under medical men engaged either for full time or for part time. In some factories the dispensaries are well equipped and are under the charge of qualified medical practitioners whereas in other factories the dispensaries are merely nominal and the patients are mostly sent to the Municipal or Government hospitals in the city. In this respect the British India Corporation has made good arrangements. In its settlements the Corporation maintains a hospital as well as a maternity centre. Two separate sections are maintained in the hospital for the treatment of males and females. For maternity and child welfare work the services of a trained and qualified lady doctor and two nurses have been engaged. The hospital also provides milk for newly born babies whose parents are too poor to afford it. In no other settlement is maternity and baby welfare work found to exist.

During the 12 months ending June, 1928, the following services were rendered to the employees and their families :

Medical treatment	142,963
Non-medical	25,913
Maternity cases	303

In the Lalimli Woollen Mills Settlement—MacRobertganj—the average number of cases treated in the dispensary for men in 1933 and 1934 were 55 and 33 and at the female dispensary 40 and 36 per day. In 1933 in Allenganj Settlement the average number of cases treated per month for which medicines were provided in Baby Welcome, male and female dispensaries was 2,388 and in addition to this 2,048 workers were treated at the mill dispensary. In 1934, 893 cases were treated at the men's dispensary and 740 at the Baby Welcome and female dispensary per month. Six hundred infants were nursed by Baby Welcome centres.

Messrs. Begg Sutherland & Co. maintain fine dispensaries under the supervision of qualified doctors. There is also a dispensary for women and children with a qualified lady doctor for Elgin Mills workers. The lady doctor answers emergency calls and serious cases without any fee and even the expense of conveyance is borne by the mill. In 1934 in all dispensaries, the total number of cases treated was 56,780 of which 19,236 were new cases.

In connexion with maternity benefits it may be noted that expectant mothers are granted a fortnight's leave on full pay. Further leave is granted after the birth of the child but no wages are paid for this period of leave. The Indian Factories Act contains no provision for this. A fortnight's leave appears to be too short a period and should be extended to one month. The wages for this period should be paid in advance to provide the mother with maternity expenses and fooding during this period. The high infant mortality rate among the labourers can be checked to a great extent if satisfactory arrangements for maternity and baby welfare are made in all the settlements. The Cawnpore Municipal Board has also opened dispensaries in all the wards of the municipality but one dispensary in a big ward like Colonelganj is not sufficient. The local Mazdoor Sabha at Cawnpore is also keeping up a small dispensary but the funds at the disposal of the Sabha are too meagre. Philanthropists have opened public hospitals where Indian Vaidic medicines are distributed free but such dispensaries are too few. Lady Chelmsford Maternity and Child Welfare centres exist at Cawnpore but the number of such centres is small and insufficient to meet the full needs of the population.

Utilization of Medical facilities—The workers, however, do not take full advantage of these medical facilities. Dispensaries within the factory are utilized like " first aid relief " centres. It is only in cases of accidents or diseases that suddenly arise within the factory that these dispensaries render any assistance to the worker. After receiving first aid medical relief the worker finds it convenient to go to some physician or hospital in the vicinity rather than to come to the factory to take the medicine every morning. It is only in the settlements that these workers go to the settlement dispensaries for medical assistance. But the workers residing in the *bastis* are forced to come to the mill dispensary in cases where they have to submit a medical certificate in support of their leave. This is very common in cases of accidents for it is on the basis of medical certificates that the workers are given compensation. Maternity benefits outside the setelements are not utilized by the labourers to any appreciable extent because of ignorance and superstition. Within the settlements, wherever provision for maternity is made, the residents have to call the nurses of the hospital and act according to their instructions because no outside nurse is allowed to come within the settlements and the utility of the benefit is explained to the workers.

Sanitation—Another point of importance is the sanitary arrangements. The greatest complaint under this topic is the inadequate provision of latrines and urinals near the homes of the workers and their unsatisfactory and insanitary nature. Workers in the *bastis* either use municipal latrines or ease themselves in the drains or open fields in the vicinity. Latrines and urinals have been provided in most settlements;

in some cases, however, no such arrangements exist and the occupants of the quarters have to go to an adjoining pond or waste land.

Water-supply—Workers also complain regarding the supply of good drinking water in certain mills. The trouble becomes serious during summer. Workers in one cotton mill pointed out that the piping arrangement was so defective that only those workers could drink water who had their drinking pots with them, there being no taps on the outside. Drinking water in summer is also found to be invariably tepid. Conditions were very unsatisfactory in places where water-supply depends on wells. This source of water-supply is very common in settlements other than those of the British India Corporation and in the *bastis* and *ahatas*. Wells—masonry and non-masonry—are found to exist in the *bastis* and most of these wells are uncovered. Hence leaves of adjoining trees fall into these wells and make the water dirty and unfit for human use. The habit of washing clothes and vessels in the vicinity of the wells still continues and hence there is a danger of contamination.

General Sanitation—In certain labour quarters the sanitation is so bad and the offensive smell so acute that it becomes difficult for a stranger to pass through. The lanes are no better than drains and are full of mud and filth. Particularly in a mohalla named *Sūar Bara* where the inhabitants are predominantly workers in the Cawnpore Tannery, the conditions are most insanitary. The workers here are mostly hair cleaners, tanners and dyers of hides and skins. In the centre of the area there is a pond in which raw hides are washed before and after the removal of the hair. *Babul* bark is used for tanning. The water of the pond is stagnant and unclean and gives out a very pungent bad smell. This is naturally the best place for mosquito breeding, and the inhabitants suffer from malaria year in and year out. There are *kachcha* lanes in these *bastis* without proper drainage and their condition in the rainy season becomes deplorable and adds to the insanitary conditions of the place.

Sex Ratio—It is true that in Cawnpore the semi-permanent labourer does not bring his family because of the uncertainty of his appointment, lack of proper housing conditions (except perhaps in the settlements) and partly due to his conception that woman is a half mate only in the village and is a burden in the city. No accurate statistics can be obtained but a rough estimate can be made. A large proportion of the labour force in the textiles industry at Cawnpore is drawn from Cawnpore and Unao. An inquiry from the workers revealed that the nearness of the home operated both in favour and against the present disparity of sexes. Many of them contended that nearness to the home gave the workers every facility of going back to their places whenever they desired to do so. Others held that because they were near the home they could conveniently bring their families and could send them back whenever necessary. That there is a disturbance in family life is clear. The

Upper India Chamber of Commerce maintains that the extent of such disturbance is not very great. According to its version about 80 per cent. to 90 per cent. of the workers have their families with them. It seems that the statement is somewhat overdrawn unless the Chamber means that these figures are applicable only in the case of the labourers who are living in the settlements provided by the employers. In Gwaltoli the proportion of females to males among the labourers was about 67 per cent. while investigation in the Khallasi Lines revealed a somewhat higher percentage. The disparity of sex among the textile workers in Cawnpore is sufficiently large to invite a study of the problem. It may happen that the mill-worker, divorced from all the restraint of family obligations, indulges in prostitution and other concomitant vices. He visits the liquor shops to derive a pleasure which he cannot get in his mud hovel, so that the relaxation which follow a day's toil may be more dangerous than the strain of heavy work.

To sum up, the industrial workers at Cawnpore have poor health due largely to bad housing, the conditions of their work and to insufficient nourishment. The medical facilities provided for them are generally inadequate, but even those that exist are not fully utilized. Lastly the sanitary arrangements at their houses are deplorable. The unwholesome conditions of work can be removed by prudent legislation and application of science to management. The workers should be taught to make more use of the present dispensaries, while their better equipment and adequacy should also be looked to. Lastly, the municipal board should devote their attention to improving the sanitation in *bastis*.

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CHAPTER VII

LABOUR WELFARE WORK

THOUGH at all times some employers show a commendable sympathy for the workers and try to promote their happiness and well being, the question of labour welfare work has acquired great significance since the war. The movement has become strong in most of the industrial countries of the world. The importance of the human element in industry has now been recognized on all hands and the attention of the State has been diverted towards various problems of amelioration.

Welfare work comprises all matters effecting the health, safety, comfort and general welfare of the workmen. It may include matters such as housing, insurance against sickness and unemployment, thrift schemes, pensions, medical attention, education, recreation, and other amusements. Thus welfare work need not be confined only to the four walls of the factory premises but facilities for recreation and other amenities of life outside the factory also come under its scope.

Welfare work may be divided into three classes, namely statutory welfare, voluntary welfare and mutual welfare. A brief explanation of these terms would make the distinction clear. Statutory welfare constitutes welfare provisions secured by the coercive power of the State such as the provisions of the Indian Factories Act, Workmen's Compensation Act, etc. As some employers did not regard it as their duty even to provide safe and healthy conditions of work, the State had to intervene to save the workers from danger to their life and health. Thus statutory welfare was the result of the failure of some employers to discharge their duties towards the work people employed by them. On the other hand, voluntary welfare is the outcome of the philanthropic and benevolent attitude of the employers towards the workmen. Provision of housing accommodation, opening of schools, dispensaries and maternity welfare centres are some illustrations of voluntary welfare. Lastly, mutual welfare schemes are collective enterprises of the workers for their common benefit.

In our discussion on this problem we shall confine our attention to voluntary and mutual welfare works. Further, as we have already dwelt upon the health and housing conditions of the workers in our previous chapters, these topics will not form part of our present discussion.

At the very outset it may be noted that welfare work, worthy of its name, is confined only to two or three firms in Cawnpore. The British India Corporation is notable for the wide range of its welfare work costing over half a lakh of rupees per year.

Its welfare work is carried on by a whole-time paid superintendent who is a missionary. He is helped by a staff of 4 doctors, 5 nurses, 8 matrons, 8 compounders, 19 teachers, 2 sergeant patrols and about a dozen midwives. The total staff of the welfare establishment consists of 147 paid full-time workers. The British India Corporation has four creches and two " Baby Welcomes " which are utilized to the fullest extent. There is provision for recreation, sports, and other healthy activities. Weekly cinemas and dramatic performances are also arranged. Sports are encouraged and assisted with grants-in-aid. The British India Corporation promotes thrift through co-operative organizations. A provident fund and a superannuation fund are also maintained and a widows' home has been organized. At times of hardship grain is sold at a comparatively cheap price. A *panchayat* which consists of 15 members (5 from each of the 3 settlements) acts as mediator and arbitrator in deciding cases that arise in the settlements. Messrs. Begg Sutherland & Co. have recently begun similar work and have appointed a whole-time superintendent who is helped by 30 paid whole-time workers.

There are no other agencies doing welfare work.

For a detailed examination of the subject we have grouped the various activities into three sections, namely (1) Education, (2) Physical culture, recreation and amusements, and (3) other activities such as introduction of creches, co-operation, etc.

Education—For the education of the workers and their children, the Cawnpore Woollen Mills Limited maintains three schools in its Mac-Robertganj settlement. Of the three, two schools are meant for those boys and girls who have no work in the day while the third is a night school. In the day schools only literary education up to the primary standard is imparted whereas in the night school courses in carpentry are also included. This night school is mostly attended by adult workers and half-timers. Lantern slides and cinema shows are also occasionally arranged. In 1934 the average attendance at the boys' school was 134, at the girls' school 102 and at the night school 60. The attendance in all these is further increasing. To accommodate the increasing number, an additional building has been provided. A library and a reading room are also connected with the educational work of the settlement. One English daily and several Vernacular daily papers and magazines are subscribed for the reading room. It is open between 7 p.m. and 9 p.m., when the workers are free after supper. The library of the settlement is a smaller one and contains vernacular books. Similar day and night schools are maintained in the Allenganj Settlement of Cooper Allen & Co., but no reading room or library is provided here. There are six other schools for the worker's children. The average attendance at

boys', girls' and night schools in this settlement during 1934 was 109, 91 and 26 respectively. Each pupil in the schools for boys and girls was provided with the necessary soap, oil and water for baths, etc. throughout the year.

Messrs. Begg Sutherland & Co. have started a boys' school for the dependants of the workmen of the Elgin Mills though a few boys who are the wards of workers in the Cawnpore Electric Supply Co. are also admitted. Tuition, books, slates and stationery are provided free and the classes are held in two sections—morning and evening—to accommodate even those boys who work in the mill in the morning. To make the school popular, the appointment for half-timers in the mills is made through the school and the policy attracts more boys to the institution. The ordinary school curriculum is supplemented by lectures on useful subjects like accounts keeping, elementary hygiene and training in scout craft. The average attendance in the school at present is 50. The attendance in the girls' school is 40 and all facilities provided in the boy's school are provided free in this school also.

A boy scout unit has been organized in the Elgin Mills.

A library containing Hindi and Urdu books is maintained by the mills. The books are in great demand. A reading room provides papers in English, Hindi and Urdu and is visited by the labourers every evening. Debates and story competitions are held occasionally in the settlement.

Physical Culture—Under physical culture, recreation and amusements, it is again the British India Corporation that has done something. In the MacRobertganj Settlement, there is an athletic association providing facilities for football, hockey and wrestling. There is also a dramatic society of the workers in the settlement. Workers take little interest in games like football and hockey but quite an appreciable number of workers partake in wrestling and other Indian exercises. Young boys take a keen interest in Western games and the settlement has an athletic team that participates in the city tournaments. The Dramatic Society makes its appearance once or twice a year, by staging a play but very few workers take part in such performances.

The Allenganj settlement has been extended by approximately 5½ acres which has enabled the authorities to provide an excellent playing field in addition to the open space previously used. Recreation in all branches is encouraged and on an average about 1,500 persons monthly engaged in various out-door sports.

Messrs. Begg Sutherland & Co. arrange for hockey, volley-ball and football under the supervision of a games superintendent. Sports are held twice a year for recreation and prizes and medals are awarded to the competitors. The Elgin Mills maintain a gymnasium court including a wrestling pit and wooden dumb-bells. There is a wrestling

instructor to train the boys. Reglar contests are held to encourage it. For small children a swing, two see-saws and one merry-go-round have been installed.

In 1933, a pucca stage was built in the Elgin Mills compound. Annual dramas, which are very well attended by male and female workers, are a regular feature of the activity in this section. Other forms of casual recreation like music, the reciting of famous Indian songs or "*Alah*" of Indian historical events, excursions and picnics are organized and encouraged. The welfare superintendent gives a cinema show to the workers every fortnight. Attendance on such occasions is very encouraging.

Creches have been provided in three Mills only. A trained nurse helped by a few assistants is in charge of each creche which is fitted with good cradles where the young ones are made to rest and sleep. Women workers come there at regular intervals. Milk and other baby food is given to the children at the cost of the employers.

The establishment of creches is of great importance, for children would otherwise have to breathe the dust and dirt laden air of a factory room. In those mills where creches are not found, women dope their young babies with opium to make them sleep for the period they are at work.

Co-operative Societies—Another important aspect of welfare work is the organization of co-operative societies to relieve the workers from the clutches of moneylenders.

There are six Co-operative Societies for industrial workers; out of these six organizations, three are mainly for textile workers. The Mazdur Sabha Co-operative Society has 201 members of whom 75 are indebted to it. The amount of money that has been advanced is Rs. 4,613. The society is purely a credit society and gives loan and charges one pice as interest on one rupee for one month. It was registered on the 14th March, 1925. The Lalimli Co-operative Society has a total membership of 511 and the loans outstanding with its members amount to Rs.30,973. The rate of interest charged is annas 4 per year on every rupee. The Kakomi Co-operative Society serves the interests of the workers employed in the Cawnpore Cotton Mills; the membership has not yet reached 50; it was registered on the 2nd May, 1929.

A credit society on the principle of co-operation was started for the workmen in the Elgin Mills in 1932. There are today 500 shareholders with a subscribed capital of Rs.5,000. Deposits are accepted at 9 per cent. and loans are advanced at 12½ per cent. per annum. The demand for loans increased so rapidly that the society had to place a limit of Rs.8,000 to be distributed as loans at any one time. The total money advanced so far is Rs.21,423 and the number of debts is 373. A similar society has been organized for the workers of the Cawnpore Electric Supply Corporation. The number of shareholders is 335 and they hold

500 shares. The society gave loans for a total sum of Rs.15,232 to 290 labourers. The authorities of the Elgin Mills and the Electric Supply Corporation help the societies by advancing Rs.2,000 each at a nominal rate of interest and by deducting the instalments for repayment of loan from the wages of the workers.

The society organized by the Mazdur Sabha is more or less defunct though attempts are being made to revive it and to give it fresh life.

Panchayats—A commendable thing in the British Indian Corporation settlements is the organization of arbitration panchayats. These panchayats hear cases of disputes among the workers and award judgment. In 1934, a panchayat was organized by Messrs. Begg Sutherland & Co., in the Khalasi Lines Settlements constructed recently by the Cawnpore Improvement Trust.

Striking features—A general study of the welfare work at Cawnpore reveals certain striking features. First the development of welfare schemes has not been uniform in all the mills of the city. Particular mills taking welfare work in hand have devoted considerable money and attention towards it, while other mills have absolutely neglected it. Thus the work done by one or two particular mills cannot be considered as typical of the city as a whole. Secondly, while much has been done for the benefit of the workmen outside the factory there has been very little recognition of the importance of arrangements inside the factory such as provision for canteens, bathrooms, creches, etc. Thirdly among the various mills, there is no co-operative effort to ameliorate the condition of the workers. A scheme of constructing a common settlement for 20,000 workers was contemplated but nothing material could be achieved. The scheme has now been given up. Lastly in all the welfare activities there is close official control and the workers hardly get an opportunity of taking the initiative.

Mutual Welfare Work—Mutual welfare work at Cawnpore has been done only on a small scale. The workers have formed a *Mazdur Sabha* for this purpose but its membership is not very encouraging in view of the total number of workers in the city.

The Sabha is doing some work for the uplift of the workers. It maintains a reading room, a library and a dispensary. A co-operative society has also been opened by the Sabha. Besides the arrangement of periodical meetings of the workers and lantern lectures on topics of every-day importance, the Sabha is running a Vernacular weekly paper. The chief handicap of the Sabha is paucity of funds. Recently, a Sewa Samiti (social worker's group) has been started by the Sabha and is doing useful work for the labourers.

Suggestions—It would be superfluous to dilate on the need and importance of welfare work. The illiteracy, ignorance, and conservatism of Indian industrial workers make it all the more important. The con-

ditions of work should be improved by every employer, e.g., by the introduction of creches, measures of safety against accidents and diseases, canteens, bathrooms, etc. In bigger schemes like that of reading rooms, night schools, libraries and recreation activities, the co-operation of the employers and the organization of the workers (Mazdur Sabha) appears to be desirable. It will serve as the best medium of persuading the labourers to take interest in such activities and to make them successful. The suspicion lurking in the minds of the workers that these measures are the official traps to distract them from raising any voice against inadequate wages or maltreatment of their employers can only be removed by running such schemes through the active help of the workers' own organizations. Less of official control in such institutions may help to create an incentive for whole-hearted co-operation on the part of the workers. Finally, the employers should not consider that the amount spent for the welfare of the workers is a drain on their profits which should, therefore, be avoided as far as possible. The money thus spent not only benefits the workers but the employers to reap its fruits through indirect returns. Education, games and amusements add much to the efficiency of the workers which is reflected in larger output and better quality of work. Secondly, with well paid and contented labour the employers should have little fear of strikes and consequent losses. With harmony and peace between the workers and the employers business is likely to make rapid progress. It must, however, not be forgotten that a mere rise in the level of wages, without a corresponding rise in the standard of living and comfort, is likely to bring about more absenteeism, idleness, extravagance and immorality.

APPENDIX A

By Anadinath Bannerjee, M.A.,

The Labour Supply

There are ten cotton mills in Cawnpore which employ some 21,000 workers a day. Inquiries were made in different localities where the labour population predominates to ascertain the districts from which the labourers are drawn. This entails a considerable amount of labour and time, and very great difficulty was experienced in gathering the necessary data. In the settlements it was comparatively easy to obtain figures and they were tackled first. It was found that in the settlements the persons of Cawnpore were decidedly in a large majority (32 per cent.) with Rae Bareli and Unao as close seconds (26 per cent.) Fyzabad and Jaunpur were also represented. After this, the labour areas like Gwaltoli, Khallasi Lines, Deputy-ki-Purwa and Colonelganj were visited, where it transpired that the districts of Bara Banki, Jalaun, Sultanpur and Partabgarh also send a fairly large number of workers to the textile industries of Cawnpore.

The distribution of caste and its determination proved a still more difficult task. The castes were diffused in all the departments of the industry and it could be gathered that there was no prejudice against mill work. One was reminded of the statement which Mr. Fremantle had made 25 years ago: "There is no prejudice against mill labour among the highest castes. Further, caste has no influence whatever on wages or on the class of work in the mill performed by each man. Brahmans and Chhatris work cheek by jowl with Chamars and do not find their touch pollution as they would in their villages." Though there is no caste prejudice against mill work, there are some castes which are specially suited for certain types of work. Thus Koris are usually found in the weaving departments; Muhammadans show a special aptitude for the clothing, hosiery and worsting departments. Brahmans and Thakurs can adapt themselves very well and they are serving in almost every department of the textile industry. In the carding, spinning and weaving departments, Brahmans and Thakurs seem to take much interest and their representation is fairly large. Among the women labourers whose number is not very large, the number of Muhammadan women is comparatively small. Mr. Edye in the Census Report of the United Provinces for 1921, has enumerated some of the castes that constitute the labour force of these provinces, and a list is appended herewith to serve as a guiding line for future reference.

General occupations	Caste, tribe or race	Persons (000's omitted)		Percentag variation 1911 to 1922
		1921	1911	
Labourers	Chamar	5,886	6,076	—3·9
	Dhanuk	123	129	—5·1
	Dusadh	73	..	3·5
	Kori	799	860	—7·1
	Luniya	424	409	3·6
	Pasi	1,338	1,311	2·1
Artisans and craftsmen.	Barhai	462	503	—8·1
	Darzi	74	82	—9·2
	Dhunia	23	28	—17·8
	Depressed classes ..	286	329	—5·1
	Kumbhar	700	715	—2·2
	Lohar	487	502	—3·0
	Teli	713	734	—2·9
	Thathera	17	..	0·4
	Muhammadans			
Artisans and craftsmen.	Barhai	88	95	—8·3
	Darzi	154	170	—9·7
	Dhunia	330	376	—12·7
	Julaha	882	953	—7·5
	Lohar	82	96	—5·0
	Manihar	90	75	18·6
	Teli	225	233	—3·8

On the whole it may be said that factory labour in the textile industry is drawn largely from the villages within the province; there is little immigration from other provinces. The reasons why the labourers abandon their ancestral homes and migrate to an industrial town like Cawnpore are many. In some cases the large number of persons in a family combined with the progressive sub-division of holdings leaves no alternative for some members of the family of a small holder, but to migrate to the city to earn his livelihood. Occasionally, the men are driven away owing to the demands of the money-lender. Again the failure of crops and its attendant hardships serve as an incentive to migration in periods of scarcity and shortage of rainfall. The relation between the hereditary occupation and the high rates of wages that can be earned by following a similar occupation in a factory is a great temptation to many, as is illustrated in the case of the weavers of Benares, Azamgarh and adjoining districts who have joined the textile industry at Cawnpore. Again the method of recruitment that prevails in particular areas may prove to be more or less favourable to the supply of labour. One of the principal causes of migration is the concentration of population in a district and its pressure on the soil. In short, it is

(—) Decrease.

(+) Increase.

generally the prospect of earning higher wages which is responsible for the villager leaving his home and going to Cawnpore in search of employment. Though the labour force is largely recruited from the countryside, the ties for the ancestral home are rarely slackened and there is a constant desire on the part of the labourer to go back to his village. The proportion of workmen of rural origin who have severed their connexion with the village and with agriculture is small. These are usually skilled workers in the factories. This can be explained and properly understood if we bear in mind that in the United Provinces the holding of land (even as a tenant) confers a prized social status (*haisyat*) for which the labourer yearns.

On the whole it may be said that the unskilled Indian factory labourer is irregular and unsteady and does not settle down permanently in the city. He is not accustomed to rigors of discipline, chafes at it and seeks the earliest opportunity of returning to his home. It is difficult to measure the frequency with which he does so, but it was found that in some of the textile mills about 45 per cent. to 50 per cent. of the labourers had returned to their villages. The mill managers whose opinion was invited on this matter could not furnish any statistics but they agreed with the figures which in their opinion were sufficiently accurate. In the opinion of the Upper Indian Chamber of Commerce, there has been a change in the habits of the unskilled labourers and "there is far less contact with the village than formerly. Labour is more habituated to urban conditions and there is perhaps less necessity for an individual's presence in his village". The frequency with which unskilled labourers return to their villages is due to their agricultural bias. During the harvesting time, at least 30 to 35 per cent. of the labourers are away from the factories and their places have to be filled by others.

Sometimes the labourer is enforced to go back due to some unavoidable reasons. It may be sickness in the family, or a marriage ceremony in which his presence is indispensable. Ordinarily, it may be said that the industrial conditions in the city and the trying circumstances under which he has to earn his livelihood breed in him a dislike towards city life and he goes back to village in order to be in the midst of congenial surroundings. It certainly affords him the much-needed change and recuperates his faculties. The return of the labourer to his village does not seriously handicap the employer in carrying on the work of the industry, for he usually anticipates such migration during the sowing and harvesting season and the services of workers who are on the reserve of the permanent labour force are requisitioned. In short, the unskilled labourer is attracted to Cawnpore by the higher rates of remuneration available but does not settle there permanently and remains floating because he does not find the conditions under which he may settle

down and bring his family. The housing conditions are demoralizing, unless he can get accommodation in the settlements or housing colonies established by the mills for some of their workers. Rooms in the settlements are, however, in great demand and he has to wait for a long time before he can get a place there. The employers in the textile industries of Cawnpore provide accommodation for about 2,000 workers out of a total strength of 21,485. Those who are provided with accommodation in these colonies, have settled down and go to make up the permanent labour force of the textile industries. It may be concluded that better housing conditions will help to improve the supply of labour at Cawnpore.

APPENDIX B

By Anadinath Bannerjee, M.A.,

Absenteeism

The textile industries of Cawnpore do not maintain any record about the extent and nature of absenteeism. In regard to absenteeism, in the opinion of the Upper India Chamber of Commerce, it has been found extremely difficult to arrive at any precise figure, but it is stated that absenteeism prevails to the approximate extent of 10 per cent. with a 10 per cent. loss of wages. The causes of absenteeism are the same all over the world of labour. Absenteeism is very well marked on days following the payment of wages. Many labourers in the textile industries of Cawnpore visit the liquor shop as soon as they receive their wages, with the result that the next day they are not in a position to go and resume work in the mills and are consequently marked absent. On many occasions the labourer absents himself from the work only because he has sufficient money with him to defray his expenses for a few days. One of the millowners very justly complained against the manner in which the labourers absent themselves. They give no notice, offer no explanation and make no amends for absenting themselves from the work. "On the contrary when a labourer is suspended for a few days for inefficiency", he indignantly added, "the entire department to which he belongs goes out on a strike". It has been found that absenteeism greatly increases in the sowing and harvesting seasons. The unskilled labourer, whose home is still the village, goes back to his village and stays away for a long period. The millowners are fully alive to the situation and maintain a reserve staff on the muster roll which copes with the difficulty. The employers, by their knowledge and experience, maintain only such percentage of extra staff as they consider will be just sufficient to fill the places of those who are absent. When those people come back, others follow suit with the result that there is constantly a high percentage of absenteeism. Absenteeism may be due to some extent to the large number of labourers from the adjoining cities and villages. The nearness of the home tempts the labourer to go back to his place whenever he feels "home-sick" and swift means of communication and low railway fares help him to do so. In some cases, the absence is due to the fatigue and worry caused by continuous work which compels the workers to take rest for some time. Skilled labourers, as a rule, do not absent themselves, and on occasions when they are forced to absent themselves, they are asked to submit an explanation stating the cause of absence and if found satisfactory, they have not to pay any

penalty. A statement has been prepared in which actual figures of absenteeism from a representative textile mill have been recorded. The percentage of absenteeism works out at 10·5.

The labour leaders agree that the textile worker is migratory and is of irregular rabits. His absence from the work is often unjustified and indefensible. Having conceded this they put the other side of the case before us. According to them the mill workers have their usual household difficulties such as sickness or sickness of their children or any near relative who may be depending upon them. If the worker is a female and her husband is ill, she cannot leave him at home. Such absenteeism is pardonable and should be allowed. There should be some system under which there will be provision for the grant of casual leave which the worker should utilize when it is absolutely necessary. The length of service and the regularity in attendance should decide claims for leave.

It has been found that the percentage of absenteeism has not changed to any appreciable extent for the last ten years. Various methods have been tried but with no successful results. The problem continues to be as acute as it was in its initial stages. The increase in wages, the creation of attendance bonuses, etc., have not been able to change the attitude of the worker. The more the rise in wages the greater has been the percentage of absenteeism. This clearly establishes that monetary gain will not bring about any change; on the contrary, it has introduced greater evils. The solution lies in appreciating the motives and desires that make the worker "home-sick" and draw him towards his home. Bad housing conditions and insanitary dwellings rob him of the joy of labour. During illness there is no one to console him and when he comes back after a day's arduous work there is nothing to cheer him up. He submits himself to the environment against which his spirit protests. He must carry on his work just to earn his livelihood and as soon as he gets some money, he goes back to his village to refresh himself under better conditions. The atmosphere of home is lacking and it is this want that explains the cause and indicates the remedy that should be employed. The remedy of absenteeism lies not in an increase of wages but in the satiety of those feelings for which the labourer yearns. If the housing conditions could be so radically improved as to make the worker feel that his home was no better than his present abode, if the factory conditions could be so modified as to put a human touch in them, the worker will not find himself out of harmony with the surroundings. He will try to merge himself in them.

Statement showing absenteeism in a representative textile mill the days and dates of payment are in italics*

Month and day		Actual number of operatives	Actual number of absentees
Thursday	1	2,661	96
Friday	2	2,661	88
Saturday	*3*	2,661	53
Sunday	4	2,661	..
Monday	5	2,661	837
Tuesday	6	2,661	637
Wednesday	7	2,661	527
Thursday	8	2,661	231
Friday	9	2,661	270
Saturday	10	2,661	311
Sunday	11	2,661	..
Monday	12	2,661	205
Tuesday	13	2,661	141
Wednesday	14	2,661	196
Thursday	15	2,661	177
Friday	16	2,661	158
Saturday	17	2,661	183
Sunday	18	2,661	..
Monday	19	2,661	165
Tuesday	20	2,661	96
Wednesday	21	2,661	204
Thursday	22	2,661	198
Friday	23	2,661	179
Saturday	24	2,661	185
Sunday	25	2,661	..
Monday	26	2,661	117
Tuesday	27	2,661	96
Wednesday	28	2,661	46
uThrsday	29	2,661	513
Friday	30	2,661	411
Saturday	31	2,661	326
Average absenteeism for the month ..		..	10·5 per cent.
(Error—0·5 per cent.)			

* It should be remembered that (1) the period of payment is fortnightly, (2) number of days which elapsed before the payment was from 15 to 18 days.

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